31 1949

"African Opinion"



N.Y. ARTIST NAMED TO
AFRICAN MAGAZINE STAFF

NEW YORK -(ANP)- James C.
[redacted] has
[redacted] Director of
the magazine "Afric[redacted]pinion."
It was announced [redacted]

This [redacted] Mar-
tinsville, [redacted] well known in the
city's art centers.

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

Bronze Confessions Wins Legal Tiff Waged by True Confessions

MIAMI—A legal battle which began nearly two years ago in the Federal District Court of this city came to a climax last week when the United States Supreme Court denied a petition for a rehearing filed by Fawcett Publications, Inc., publishers of True Confessions magazine, against Bronze Confessions, the first all-Negro true story magazine published in this country, and the publisher, Sam B. Solomon.

Bronze Confessions made its first appearance in 1945. The contents of Bronze true story magazine was devoted to stories of love and romance. Solomon's magazine caught the eyes of thousands of readers throughout America and the publishers of the white confessions magazines promptly threatened suit to compel suspension of the new publication by claiming the use of the name, Bronze Confessions, was an infringement on their rights and constituted unfair competition against them.

Publisher Solomon ignored the threats and continued to publish the magazine until Fawcett actually began suit asking the court to compel Solomon to discontinue his publication under the title, Bronze Confessions, to award Fawcett damages and all profits derived from the sale of the magazine and revenue received from advertising.

With a battery of ten lawyers representing Fawcett Publications the suit dragged along for nearly two years through all branches of the Federal courts to finally reach the United States Supreme Court where the decision was rendered in favor of Bronze Confessions and the publisher, Sam B. Solomon.

Immediately after the decision was rendered Solomon began preparations to resume publication of Bronze Confessions which is slated to appear in December on newsstands throughout the nation.

JONES AND PURDY FORMER MEMPHIS PHOTOGRAPHERS HERE FOR COLOR

"Jones and Purdy", two names well known in studio and newspaper circles on the sidewalks of Beale Street a few years back, are again being heard around the city this week. The two young men after being away from the Bluff City for the past ten years are now back in connection with an assignment for COLOR, popular national Negro publication.

James E. Purdy, Jr., presently of New York and Newark, N. J. and Norman E. Jones of Columbus, Ohio, arrived here Armistice Day to cover respresentative Negro leaders in the various fields for Color. They will be a special feature telling of Negro contribution to the business, political, and social life of the community. Organized labor, and persons who have achieved as club leaders will be touched upon.

"Memphis is rich in feature material", Jones and Purdy said. "We have always wanted such an assignment since the days we operated a studio here and observed the growing consciousness of Negroes as in all walk of life".

Following the Memphis engagement which is expected to end by Friday, Mr. Purdy and Mr. Jones will continue their tours in the Southeast, possibly spending the next long visit in Jacksonville.

Both men got their first newspaper experience with the Memphis World newspaper back around 1931 when this publication was just entering the field. They made a number of pictures for the rotogravure section, frequently referred to as the "Brown Section". Mr. Purdy, a native Memphian with a number of relatives here, joined with Jones after the latter cast his lot in the Bluff City. Mr. Jones came here from Hot Springs, Arkansas to fill a single engagement for Universal Life, but decided to remain in the Bluff City. He is a native of Kansas City, Mo.

Purdy left Memphis for the east after his wife, the late Mrs. Edwina Greene Purdy, received an important wartime assignment with the Office of Dependency Benefit in New Jersey. He and his wife later operated studios in New York and Newark, N. J., but the recent death of Mrs. Purdy led to the decision by her husband to give up the business and joined the staff of COLOR MAGAZINE. He went to Columbus, Ohio and persuaded Mr. Jones to join him again.

Jones, who before coming to Memphis in the early thirties had done promotional work for Tiny Bradshaw and other top-flight orchestra leaders of that day, has been doing photographic work in the Ohio capitol. He became widely known as director for the Memphis World of the "Mayor of Beale Street" Campaign. During this election, M. W. Thornton, Sr., was named first and only "Mayor of Beale Street" in 1938, and succeeded himself in 1939. No election has been held since that year.

While in Memphis the newsmen have been guests of the Memphis World Maurice Hulbert's Letter Shop, and a number of other friends.

Remodeled Crisis Makes November Debut

NEW YORK — Marked innovations in format and content characterize the November issue of The Crisis, official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, making its debut this month as a pocket-sized, popular-appeal magazine.

Sections of fashion, make-up, recipes and health hints are among the new features in the remodeled and revitalized Crisis, which also includes a page entitled "Good News," noting encouraging developments in race relations, and a section entitled "Your Dollar's Worth," a digest of buying hints based on market analyses by Consumers Union.

Featured articles in the November issue are "The Proof of the Pudding," by James Peck, a report of the fight against Jim Crow in two large amusement parks; "A Passage to Hawaii," by Frank Marshall Davis, a survey of race relations in that island territory; "Dr. Frank of Chapel Hill," by Ken Manrorie, a profile of Senator Frank P. Graham of North Carolina; and "Local Boy Makes His-tory," a biographical sketch of movie star James Edwards. A short story by Chester Himes—"Mama's Missionary Money"—also appears in the magazine.

Ivy Named Crisis Acting Editor

NEW YORK—James W. Ivy has been named acting editor of The Crisis, official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, it was announced this week by the Crisis board. Mr. Ivy, former managing editor of the publication, was promoted to the acting editorship to succeed Roy Wilkins, acting NAACP secretary.

A native of Danville, Va., Mr. Ivy was educated at Virginia Union University in Richmond and New York University. He first joined the staff of The Crisis as editorial assistant in October, 1942 became managing editor of Commom Sense in 1945, and returned to The Crisis in 1946 as managing editor.

Mr. Ivy taught English in the Huntington High School, Newport News, Va., and was a member of the English faculty for Hampton Institute. From 1926 to 1928 he was book review editor of The Messenger, and in 1938 he began the same type of work for The Crisis.

New Magazine Is Published In N. Y.

NEW YORK— (ANP) —A new Negro literary magazine, Harlem Quarterly, is slated to hit the newsstands November 18, it was announced last week by Editor Benjamin A. Brown.

Published by Harlem Quarterly Associates, it is the only publication of its kind outside Negro colleges and universities. Among contributing editors are Langston Hughes, noted poet; Shirley Graham, author of several books; and Alain Locke, Howard University professor.

Featured in the first issue of Harlem Quarterly is a symposium on the subject, "Are Negroes Winning Their Fight for Civil Rights?" answered by Mary McLeod Bethune, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., William Patterson, A. Phillip Randolph and George S. Schuyler.

According to Brown "the magazine's purpose is to publish all shades of opinion of serious young Negro writers who have something important to say along with white writers who write about Negroes and Negro-white relationships."

N.C. WRITER JOINS
WHITE DAILY: HONORED

Greensboro,N.C.-A special recognition service here last week honored A.A. Morisey, who joined the staff of the white daily, the Winston-Salem Journal-Sentinel,Thursday Dec. 1. The program, presented by the staff of the student publication, the "Bennett Banner"lauded the report for giving unstintingly for himself to help his fellow man."

Defender
Sat. 12-10-49
Chicago,Ill.

Southern Pacific Magazine Ad Insults New Orleans Citizens

NEW YORK (ANP) — Continued insults to colored citizens in advertising copy should receive the attention of organizations sponsoring advertising or groups defending minorities.

NEWSWEEK Magazine, issue of Dec. 13, is the latest offender with the Southern Pacific Railroad.

Inviting tourists to stop off in New Orleans, the railroad, which maintains offices at 310 S. Michigan Ave. in Chicago, shows a prosperous white family — youngish man, wife and boy of about 6, taking candid camera shots of a grinning, jigging, bare-foot, 'cute Sambo' in a New Orleans street, while an older man sits and plunks away at a stringe instrument.

Insult to Other Citizens

The background shows part of the Vieux Carre or another old section of the city. The white boy is correctly attired in linen coat, dark trousers, Eton cap, white shoes and dark socks. He stands nonchalantly smiling as the grinning son of Uncle Tom clowns.

Mother smiles tolerantly as dad records the episode for posterity. With such an inducement the Southern Pacific advertises a gross insult to the progressive prosperous colored persons who live in the famous old city.

Interracial Booklet Display Stirs Wrath of Memphis Police

MEMPHIS, Tenn. — A display of the magazine "Interracial Romances" was more than this city could take. Police hauled Alonzo Davis, manager of the Davis News Agency, into court for having the magazines, fined him $102 and ordered him to collect all such magazines from local stands.

Davis was charged with disorderly conduct and with violating a city code dealing with publication on sex matters. The magazine was published in Fort Worth, Tex. Some of the civic leaders in the community have requested the City Attorney to give Davis a further hearing.

Anniversary Edition

Phylon to Feature Education Problems

ATLANTA, Ga. — In the tenth anniversary issue of Phylon, Atlanta University's Journal of Race and Culture, fourteen well-known educators will express their opinions on problems and trends in higher education among Negroes. The issue will be off the press early in December.

Among the articles to appear are "Regional Education: an Experiment in Democracy;" "Present and Future Role of Private Colleges for Negroes," "Segregation in Higher Education," and "The Role of the Federal Government in the Higher Education of Negroes."

Contributors to the issue include Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University; Ambrose Caliver, U. S. Office of Education; Luther H. Evans, Library of Congress; Ira DeA. Reid of Haverford College; Fred L. Brownlee, American Missionary Association; Marc Moreland, Morgan State College; D. C. Holmes, Morgan State College; Benjamin E. Mays, Morehouse College; Stephen Wright, Hampton Institute; Langston Hughes, New York; A. A. McPheeters, Clark College, and John E. Ivey, Southern Regional Education Foundation.

Phylon was established at Atlanta University in 1939 by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois to treat the race problem of the South, the United States and the world. The publication in some respects was a resumption of the old Atlanta University publications, which were issued annually for eighteen years, between 1897 and 1914.

During the ten years of its development, however, the journal has moved into a much broader frame work in that it now publishes articles which treat problems of all minority nationalities and culture groups throughout the world. DuBois served as editor from 1939 until 1944, when Ira DeA. Reid became editor. Dr. Mozell C. Hill, chairman of the department of sociology at Atlanta University has been the editor in chief since 1948.

Council's Forthright Action

Mayor Hartsfield and members of Council's Police Committee are to be commended for the forthright manner in which they disposed of the complaint against R. J. Bradley, police officer, charged with shooting at Tommie Ray Harris, a Negro Night Watchman, at Austin's Drive-In Theatre, on Georgia Avenue.

It appears that Officer Bradley, together with other policemen, had been granted the use of the building by the proprietor, where they made it a practice to gather at stated times to make sandwiches and coffee. On the other hand, it was also a common practice for the Night Watchman to stay around.

[redacted] show that Bradley started scuffling with and "goosing" Harris. Resenting this, Harris is reported to have slammed his fist on the table, ostensibly in disgust. Whereupon, Bradley is said to have shot at him, with the bullet going through his coat and lodging in the showcase.

That was a narrow escape for Harris. Apparently, Police Committee members thought likewise and dropped Bradley from the force. They were equally shocked by the knowledge that Bradley made no report on what transpired between him and Harris.

We congratulate members of Police Committee. An officer lacking a sense of the solemn obligation resting upon him to handle a gun as a sacred trust from the city government, is a dangerous man, who may do inestimable damage and carnage under the color of law enforcement.

Annapolis First Graduate

Next week Wesley Brown, the first Negro to attain an ensign's rank, will be graduated from the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis. Three others have been successful in winning appointment to Annapolis, but none lasted the full four year-period. And of this number, one resigned 12 years ago because he could not endure the sharp feeling of isolation he was forced to endure.

But during the intervening years, times have changed, and so has racial sentiment. Thus Brown's graduation will not only be a testimony to his scholarship and personality fitness, but in a manner more important, the feeling of goodwill and brotherhood has also become more truly American in character.

Brown was appointed to Annapolis by Congressman Adam Clayton Powell of New York. He is one of eighteen middies slated for Civil Engineering Corps commissions in the Navy. He will become the tenth Negro officer now on active duty. Brown said last week that he always wanted to be an engineer, but had to draw lots with more than one hundred classmates for that kind of a commission.

"I drew number one," said Brown in a happy tone. He told reporters that "I am more sensitive than anyone else" about all the publicity. It is a good sign that Brown could come out of Annapolis with his shoulder boards. We congratulate him and congratulate the school as well.

DELIVERANCE WEEK

April 11 to [illegible], has been set apart as Deliverance Week. Dr. J. Max Bond, Executive Secretary of the new movement, expressed the hope that "Americans of all faiths and all races will join the Negro as he seeks deliverance from his oppressors by an appeal to God."

The failure of the civil rights fight, said Dr. Bond, is a heavy blow to the cause of justice for the Negro in the South and especially in Georgia. "Southern Democrats in upholding a ruling that makes it impossible to pass legislation that would have arrested the shameful persecution of the Negro, not only degraded themselves but robbed an entire race of its great hope for deliverance."

There can be no harm in praying for deliverance. It is an age-old practice, particularly among the Jews and other groups suffering persecution to pray for deliverance. In our ordinary applications we are beseeching God to deliver us from certain evils or imminent dangers. Thus, to enlarge upon our prayers to include freedom from lynching, fear, the terrors of the Ku Klux Klan, and in short, deliverance from hate and prejudice is important. It is a natural part of the history of the Negro people, inherent even in their folk songs.

And now to set apart a week for special prayers for deliverance, only to perform on a nationwide scale what is being done by individual groups. Negroes and we hope whites too, will heartily join this parade during the week of April 11 to 17. There are plenty of good reasons, even beyond those suggested by Dr. Bond and the others aligned in the Deliverance Movement, why we should benefit from such observance It always helps the soul of man to pray. Prayers induce greater confidence in one's self and the cause he represents. Prayer lifts man from the shackles of fear into the realm of confidence and courage. We need more prayer in our daily lives and we stand to profit in a thousand ways by prayer for deliverance from our enemies. Because beyond all other things, we shall learn to grow liberal enough not to ask the God who can do no wrong to inflict any punishment upon our enemies although they be our oppressors. We shall always remember the perfect prayer, "Our Father-and Thy will be done.".

We commend the wisdom of Dr. Bond and those associated with him in the movement and we trust that the nation will join them in the cause.

Mrs. Mallards Tour

We don't agree with those who criticise Mrs. Amy Mallard for her decision to make a nationwide tour of the country so as to give a first-hand account of the lynching of her husband, Robert Mallard, and the bumbug trial which followed. To the contrary, if by her story one American out of a thuosand who will hear it is persuaded to enlist in the cause of justice and equality before the law, we think she will have done a great service to her native state and southland.

The radios and newspapers have told the story, it is true. But to millions of Americans unacquainted with the ways of life for Negroes in the South, the story of a pre-

A Blow At Us

[illegible] the Georgia State Senate has passed the Voter Qualification and Reregistration bill sponsored by Governor Talmadge in keeping with his promise during the primary last September. Frankly, we are disappointed and somewhat depressed to know that actually the legislative branch of the state government would attempt to carry out such an undemocratic promise.

It's a foregone conclusion that the governor will sign his pet bill. So the die is cast. When Governor Talmadge signs the measure by that final act some one million voters will become disfranchised.

One major complaint has been against the spirit and intent of those who sponsored the law. Admittedly, it aims to get all Negroes off and through its operation only a limited number would be permitted to reregister.

This bill is undemocratic and we believe it can be prov-

ed unconstitutional. It must be removed from the statute books at the earliest possible moment.

The bill is designed to stop Negroes from voting in a bloc. But it can never accomplish this end. To the contrary, it will have the opposite effect of driving into a bloc and only because of the manifest determination of the hate mongers to deny Negroes their constitutional rights to participate in government.

A Law Designed To Enslave Us Politically

Daily World Atlanta Ga. negro

Several days ago the House of Representatives passed a bill known as the Voters' Qualification and Reregistration law. The sponsors of this bill have openly stated that the purpose and intent of the proposed law is to stop "Negro bloc voting."

Last Wednesday evening at the state capitol the senate committee having control of this legislation held a short public hearing. The opponents of the bill were heard first and the one person who appeared in favor of the bill spoke next.

Sun. 2-6-49

The bill is now before the full senate after approval by the committee.

The main provision of the bill which is most vigorously opposed by leaders of our race is that when passed it immediately and automatically wipes off all Georgia's over a million voters despite the fact that the state's voters' lists are as up to date as possible in as much as the rolls were purged of inactive or dead registrants by virture of the adoption of the state's new constitution in 1945. Also we oppose the enactment of the bill because:

(1). It is undemocratic in that it would greatly reduce the electorate. One high state official stated that the bill would probably reduce the number of voters by about half.

(2). The announced intent and purpose of the bill make it unconstitutional because it is mainly directed at Negroes because of race and color in violation of the 15th amendment to the Federal Constitution. In the recent decree against the infamous late Boswell law in Alabama the court took cognizance of "intent" as well as the wording and affect of the law.

(3). That the bill gives too much discretion and arbitrary power to the county registrars. The courts have already ruled that when such arbitrary power is used to deny citizenship rights it is unconstitutional.

(4). There is no justifiable need for a Re-registration of voters because as recent as 1945 the voters' lists were brought up to date and a law adopted to provide for keeping them up to date. The present voters law provides that the name of any registrant is subject to being dropped if he does not vote at least once in every two years.

(5). The exercises of the use of the ballot is most essential to mutual harmony and goodwill between the two major racial groups in this state. This proposed bill, if passsed, will practically leave the Negro citizens of this state politically defenseless.

Sat. 2-6-49

Moreover, the present legislature has passed a new libel law which probably will encourage and make easier court action against newspapers and other publications that print matter which may displease certain people. It is reported that this libel law was sponsored and pushed thru the legislature by men from Montgomery County where Isiah Nixon was killed allegedly for voting in last fall's primary; and by a representative from Toombs County where Robert Mallard was lynched.

Daily World, Atlanta Ga.

The outlook is grave but we must keep calm and resolute to continue our efforts for greater and truer democracy for all. We ourselves may become victim to unjustifiable libel suits as an attempt to intimidate us in the publishing and commenting forthrightly on news and developments that affect our race and state. But we now re-promise to ourselves and our readers and supporters that we will not desert or fail to stand by a principle and what we think is just and right regardless of the difficulty and opposition we may meet.

The People Have Spoken

The voters of Georgia have overwhelmingly rejected the statewide referendum Tuesday which would have placed upon them additional tax burdens, but which would have expanded state services. For the state as a whole, the vote was better than three to one. For the larger communities such as Macon, Atlanta, Savannah and others, the vote was even more decisive. In Fulton county, the latest figures show a 13 to 1 majority against the new expanded services.

That the voters turned down the new taxes is not surprising, in the midst of the confusion and doubt in the minds of those eager to learn what was involved in the new program. The people, we think, want the new expanded services and were willing to pay for them. They wanted better educational and health facilities for their children. But as all intelligent voters should be, they were not willing to buy a pig in the pork, which is precisely what would have happened if they had voted to give the General Assembly a blank check on which to finance these services.

The Legislature, we believe, erred in the first instance, when it adjourned without passing adequate legislation whereby a suitable and intelligent taxing program could have been submitted to the voters for approval along with the referendum. Thus, the action of the voters Tuesday in rejecting the expanding service program leaves the state legislators the important but difficult task of devising ways and means to carry on the basic services required under present circumstances. That, we hope, will be done in time.

We fail to see, however, where the failure of the $46 million program had any bearing whatever on plans of Negroes, teachers or otherwise, since there was nothing in the Minimum Foundation program which guaranteed equality of expenditure for Negro and white schools. As we understand from the discussions of the plan the equality clause was skillfully passed over because one representative observed: "That there were some 45 counties in Georgia where Negroes outnumber the whites, and that there would be bloodshed if equality were practiced under this bill."

To the contrary, an examination of the votes of Negroes in Atlanta, for example, show that at 3-B, and almost solid Negro precinct, Negroes rejected the plan almost three to one, about the same as the voters over the state. So that, there is nothing in the failure of the referendum which in any sense, would have changed the plans which Negroes may have had. Nor would there have been anything to stop them, even if the measure had passed.

Race's Only Daily Sued by Policemen

ATLANTA, Ga. — Two Atlanta police officers last week reportedly filed suit in Fulton Superior Court seeking $50,000 in damages each from the Atlanta Daily World in the first action on the Talmadge administration's new libel law.

The petition alleges The World printed incorrect and damaging statements concerning the alleged abuse on Jan. 21 of Mrs. Lillian Sullivan, a Merritts Avenue housewife.

The Civil Rights Crusade

Enough blood has already been shed to justify the passage of adequate civil rights statutes and anti-lynching laws by the present 81st Congress. And the greatest ammunition for the civil rights guns in this Congress was supplied by Georgia during the past year.

Georgia gave the nation its only two lynchings during the past year, Georgia gave the nation its only slaying of a Negro, Isaiah Nixon, of Montgomery County, who was shot to death by two white men in the presence of his wife and six children for having voted against their warning. Georgia was the only state where, during 1948, the Ku Klux Klan flourished and gained respectability by threats and intimidation of prospective Negro voters. And to add to the logic, Governor Talmadge's four-point white supremacy plan would wipe out the present registration list, which involves something close to 150,000 Negroes; permanent registration, restore the antiquated poll tax, and require prospective voters to "explain in a simple, fair and reasonable manner," any section of the state or federal constitution.

Gerogia's representatives in Congress, of course, are tooth and toenail against any additional privileges for Negroes. They want the Negro left at the mercy of the states. But that is all the more compelling reason why these rights should be speedily enacted. The State's rights argument has worn thin and threadbare. No reasonable and fair-minded legislators in Washington can afford to listen to it any longer. For while Robert Mallard, who was lynched; Isaiah Nixon, who was murdered and the scores of other Negroes who were either slain or lynched, were Georgians, to be sure, but they are also Americans, too. And if the states cannot handle the lynch and mob problems, as was painfully and pointedly demonstrated in the Mallard trial at Lyons, then it is the duty of the government to provide that security of life and limb.

There is grave need for more adequate civil rights laws. There is need for a strong anti-lynch law. The President's Civil Rights Commission recognized this when it reported:

"The threat of lynching always hangs over the head of the southern Negro: The knowledge that a misinterpreted word or action can lead to death is a dreadful burden." But that is precisely the state of life which the Negro must live in the South today.

Congress has enough goodwill and united strength to enact such legislation. But the problem which must be solved before any of this can be dealt with effectively, is the discredited filibuster, which for years, has been the refuge of southerners to block favorable action.

Refund To Veterans

Sometime in 1949, the Veterans Administration will pay dividends to those who took out National Service Life Insurance and it is estimated that the fund to be distrusted will range from $1,500,000,000 to $2,000,000,000.

Refunds will be made on all policies on which veterans paid premiums for three or more months, including those lapsed or matured as well as those now in force. Since the first policies were effective in 1940, the dividends will cover a period of about eight years and will vary from a few cents to several hundred dollars per veteran.

The distribution of dividends to policyholders arises from the fact that the Government, in connection with its insurance of the lives of its veterans operated without profit. Since battle losses were much smaller than anticipated the surplus funds accumulated, according to a court ruling, belong to the veterans. The Veterans Administration is getting ready to pay it out in proper proportion to the veterans.

running of it should at this day render his race such a disservice. We consider it a disservice to attempt to put it in the minds of white people that Negroes have been taught to hate them, and this without submitting proofs of his statements.

We are at a loss to discover his motives for his attacks upon the NAACP, the Rosenwald Foundation, and the University of Georgia System. We know what he says, but we feel he should cite concrete cases. The Rosenwald Fund helped many a county to build schools for Negroes. The NAACP has been a friend at court for Negroes in too many notable instances, and the charge that the University System has been turning down the education of Negroes needs substantiation. We regret to see the University System attacked at a time when it has plans, as we understand it, for expanding and greatly improving its three institutions for Negroes. We dislike to feel that the University System will be influenced by this former college pres-

What A Pity

(From the Savannah Tribune)

It is such a pity that a man like Dr. Holley, the founder of a college for Negroes who had the help of Northerners and who had the [illegible] of years as to the

dent with whom age has been playing cruel pranks. It is the feeling of very many Negroes that Dr. Holley has failed them. It is a pity that a man who was a leader in his church, and in educational circles in this state, should set an example of ingratitude to those who rendered to Negroes services when they were most sorely needed.

"Don't Re-fight The Civil War"

Georgia is making quite a name for itself in reaction over the country. Proof of this unpleasant fact can be found in a study of the bills which have been passed through the legislative hopper and signed into law, since the new Governor has taken over the reins. Some of these laws undoubtedly will have widespread reverberations, not only over the South but in other regions of the Nation. A sample of this was pointed up with great force and clarity by our Sports Editor, Marion E. Jackson, in a recent issue of this paper. We reproduce herewith certain cogent phases from his discourse that all of our readers may share his thinking on the subject. He says:

"Ancient taboos and bugaboos which have been unwritten laws in sports, cultural and social relations in Georgia, will get legalized support if two measures now pending before the General Assembly are enacted into law. These bills would place all athletics-amateur and professional—as well as cultural entertainment in a straight jacket and isolate the state from the rest of the United States into a jimcro orbit of its own.

"Don't be hoodwinked!!! The furor stems from the announcement that Jackie Robinson and Roy Campanella will appear in Atlanta on April 9, 10 and 11 with the Brooklyn Dodgers . . . The adoption of laws banning interracial play would make the state a "No Man's Land" for all major league clubs.

These two laws now before the Georgia House and Senate, aimed at reinforcing existing jimcro statutes are a slap in the face to such notables as George Gershwin (Porky and Bess); Jerome Kern and Edna Ferber (Showboat) Margaret Mitchell (Gone With The Wind) Joel Chandler Harris (Uncle Remus Tales) Stephen Foster (Old Kentucky Home and Swanee) and Mark Twain (Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn) whose moving portrayals of white-Negro relations in the South are classics."

Mr. Jackson notes that our concert stars would be barred by the passage of these two bills; progress in sports, music, opera and other fields would be retarded and it will mean "goodbye" to baseball. He concludes with this striking paragraph:

"The South will still get widespread publicity for its intolerance, sheer ignorance and stupidity in re-fighting the Civil War, and digging up another Reconstruction Period. The major league clubs will shun Georgia . . . and Big 9 and Ivy League football teams will journey to North Carolina, Texas, Tennessee and Virginia, where people see no reasons for reviving the Civil War and the issues of that day.

"It is quite sad that the world will move on without us, and that in the backwash of its departure, we will fume and fuss because people look at us as an alien and strange race for which there is no hope. Yet Georgia is asking for it . . . and unquestionably will get it."

We agree with Sports Editor Jackson. Negroes and white American soldiers played shoulder to shoulder in almost every war theatre overseas. In some theatres they introduced the game of baseball. In Italy Big Train Moody was instrumental in helping to organize the "Spaghetti Bowl" and was one of the outstanding sensations in the game along with white boys from other theatres. But in Georgia it is high treason to play in the game with a Nergo.

The Judge Speaks Out

The forthright position taken by Judge J. M. C. Townsend, of the Georgia Court of Appeals, before the Chattanooga, Tenn. Civitan Club Friday, is clear enough for the ignorant to understand and forceful enough for the friends of law and order to appreciate.

In language unmistakable, Judge Townsend charged Dade County Sheriff Lynch and three of his deputies with aiding a hooded mob in the recent floggings of seven Negroes near Hooker, Ga. "We have already called on the FBI and we already have the identities of ten men including the Sheriff, deputies and mobsters," the Judge said, in condemning the Sheriff for his half-hearted defense of his prisoners from the mob.

"I am not afraid, and I don't care if my job makes enemies for me. But America is no place for anybody who can't live and stand beside people of all colors and religions," the jurist warned.

Those are heartening words coming straight from the lips of a high Georgia jurist, whose influence is already a great factor in determining public sentiment and creating respect for the constituted laws of the state.

We have said it once before and we say it here again, that when law enforcement officials begin bowing to the will of the mob, then there comes a break down in the machinery of enforcement and those to blame for such things ought to give up their places to more worthy servants of the people. In the case of Sheriff Lynch, it does not satisfy the thinking nor the conscience of upright citizens of Georgia to ask: "What would you do if there were 50 or 100 men around that ordered you to leave? The obvious answer is now as it was then, stand by your oath to uphold and enforce the laws.

We are glad to know that the names of at least some of the mob members are known. It will be shocking to the sense of law-abiding citizens to read the indictment by Judge Townsend. It is bad enough for the Sheriff to take cold feet and desert his prisoner, but it is an indictment upon a whole society when a Judge charges him and his deputies with aiding mob action.

Food For Thought

"The task of any college today is superhuman." That was the opinion expressed by Miss Florence Read, the president of Spelman college, in a nationwide radio broadcast recently in connection with the 68th anniversary exercises of the institution.

The task, states Miss Read, includes developing in students a sense of maturity, encouragement of self-discipline and the awakening of a sense of responsibility. "Too many grown-ups, and young people," she says, "wish to have a better world happen while they continue their indulgence in parties and movies, in clothes and sports, and in motor travel."

There is much food for thought in this conclusion by Miss Read. Young people, not only at Spelman, but in most other colleges are not developing the sturdy minds which enable them to practice self-discipline, shoulder responsibility and get a clear perspective of the values of life.

We are not prepared to say that this is the fault of the student leaders. We rather think that is only partially true. It would be more correct to charge it against the fast moving age, accelerated by scientific progress and invention. There is no doubt that the civilization under which we are forced to live places a severe strain upon the grown-ups, no less than upon students. We are living two days into one, as it were. And it becomes extremely difficult to get a clear perspective of the world and the things about us because we are forever speeding here and there, without having much time to devote long to any one thing, even scholarship.

And that leads us to make an observation on the recent student strike at the Fort Valley State college. There are some features about the handling which perhaps, may have been different. But, by and large, there again, we are forced to the conclusion that the student leaders lacked the ability or failed to show they possessed it, to exercise self-discipline and a sense

two seniors were suspended, not expelled, for violating a ation forbidding students to leave the campus without per- n. They are said to have admitted their guilt. Still, the t leaders were willing to call a strike against established nd order. Obedience to law is liberty. And no student has claim to more freedom until he can demonstrate that he can by the decisions made in the interest of the common-good. ve agree that students have rights which ought, as a lesson mocracy, be respected. But these rights do not reside in dis- ence to law.

The States Rights Evil

The Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City Okla.

While we are convinced the proponents of an amendment to the Federal Aid to Education bill were contacting in good faith in their recent attemut to attach a civil rights rider to the bill, we at the same time join with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in belief nothing soundly democratic will be done respecting education until something similar to the Lodge amendment is attached to all types of federal aid.

Southerners were able last week to stave off the Lodge amendment in the Senate and the bill now goes to the House for study. Every reader of the Black Dispatch should get in touch with his congressman and insist that the Lodge amendment be supported. The two houses of Congress are playing cheap politics just now with civil rights in an effort to place the President and liberal Democrats in a bad light. Negroes should not lose sight of the ball of reason thus taking sides with either group. We say this because we observed last week one of our leading weeklies veering to the side of the Republicans, when anyone with reason two jumps ahead of a land tarripin should know the Republicans are in cahoots with Dixiecrats to defeat civil rights.

States rights is the issue that stands out like a sore thumb in this historic discussion and Negroes cannot afford to join with any groups allied with the states rights philosophy of government. One of these days sound American citizenry is going to vomit states rights and puke it out of our social system. States rights was nurtured in the bosom of selfishness and puny mentality of colonists who feared the provincial power they possessed might be weakened by a federal structure. It was the retention of state power that destroyed the early confederation of states that preceded the United States, and at that time little, insignificant political units like Rhode Island resisted the right of the federal government to take over custom duties. All of our interstate laws have been enacted by Congress to correct the evils of states rights which were written into the federal constitution when this nation was born.

The Missouri Compromise, the Fugitive Slave law, the border warfare in Kansas, the Dred Scott decision, and even the Civil War were aftermaths of states rights, and since the war between the states we have seen the nation hampered in times of crisis by unreasonable demands of the states, where petty politicians think only in terms of selfish self while the very perpetuity of the nation hangs in the balance.

Take an issue during World War II, having to do with labor. In two of the southern states attempt was made to arrest federal representatives of labor because it was alleged these U. S. agents came into the state and enticed labor across its borders to enter war plants. Think of such subversive influences hampering the government at a time when sons of American mothers were dying on foreign battlefields for want of guns and ammunition. States rights offers an ugly picture in this instance when we see local self government paralyzing the hands of the federal structure at a time when it meant certain death to thousands who were making themselves cannon fodder for world freedom!

In the current debate in Congress, able but evil senators seek to argue that education is a concern of local government, and of no importance or interest to the federal structure. But during the late war the Sub-Committee on Education and Labor made the startling discovery, after studying draft records, that millions of both white and black citizens, especially in the South, were unfit for war duty because of educational or health deficiencies. It appears to the Black Dispatch that such a revelation should cause every sensible citizen to recognize that education and health relate to the general welfare of the nation, and should be under the direct supervision of the federal government. State government was revealed in this instance as exposing the nation as a whole to invasion and destruction by reason of its delinquecy respecting public education and public health. Just how Southerners and Dixiecrat Northerners can consistently argue the federal government has no stake or interest in public health and public education is beyond the ken of reasoning, and southern states have certainly been delinquent in both fields.

But states rights and its ox-cart patterns is in reality showing itself to be a hydra-headed monster in this atomic age, so far as the interest of the several states is concerned. Just now, two states in the South which stand to profit financially if federal aid to education becomes law, are attempting to foist upon the nation a principle in statism which is unthinkable. It is the tidelands oil bill. The theory of states rights, supported by proponents in Texas, Louisiana and California, is that the territorial jurisdiction of these commonwealths extend out into the ocean from their shores to indeterminate lengths, and based upon this principle of states rights they are boring oil wells in the submerged land off their coasts, from which Texas alone is adding one million dollars per month to its school funds. Louisiana insists that the domain of that state extends a thousand miles out in the ocean.

Texas and Louisiana are rather close to South and Central America and we wonder, based upon the same principle, whether or not the territorial boundry lines of those foreign states do not extend out into the ocean also, and whether or not there is danger of international complication arising from the ocean claims of these states.

The additional question arises as to who in actuality the tidal lands belong. Does it belong to the states or to the United States? If these submerged lands were declared the property of the several states it would mean that billions of dollars in oil could be secured and utilized for the benefit of all of the school children in the United States. This in the judgment of the Black Dispatch is a more democratic approach to the question of tidal oil.

This mechanical-atomic age, with rapid transportation communication and combustion combine to make block-heads of the folk who cling to the ancient theory of states rights. The automobile has practically eliminated the pioneer necessity for numerous county governments. There is hardly a man in the state of Oklahoma who could not today reach the capital by auto in one day, so that if tax-ridden citizens were sensible they would get rid of 77 different county units in Oklahoma and divide them up into about four political units. Likewise, the nation with its present modernity could easily adjust itself to about four major divisions as states and rid itself of a million hungry bureaucrats who eternally feed at the public trough, and in addition standardize the laws of the nation. Instead of having forty-eight conflicting states we would have only four.

Dumbbell Negroes who do not see this basic change as ideal for the future of America, and who spend their time

The Langston Strike

The Black Dispatch wishes to reiterate what we have one co
previously said on a number of occasions, that we do not wish Dr. G.
to be sidetracked from the main issue currently jutting from resnecting
the graduate training discussion now claiming the attention and yo
of the state. We said this when an interracial group marched ston pr
on the capitol quite recently, and also when suggestion was Ju
made by several legislators that Langston university be rison w
moved to the state fairground tract immediately east of East- to his
ern avenue. from v

This publication, the NAACP and thousands of wide- discuss
awake citizens have centered their minds upon graduate train- tion, r
ing, and they do not like to be derailed from this important about t
discussion with other matters not entirely germane to that pus.
achievement. We do not say that other matters are not just
as important, but since we have taken on this assignment we dismiss
want to conclude first things first and lend our attention to the ca

The Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City Okla.

There are those who are incensed because Dr. Harrison dismissed the Langston professor because he took part in the capitol picket line, but on the other hand, Dr. Harrison

very vehemently declares he did not dismiss this teacher because he was in the picket line, but because he was insubordinate. The Black Dispatch believes considerable attention should be given to the actual cause of Prof. Chesley's dismissal. We are by this situation as we are about lynching cases when they appear in newspapers. We always hear how many folk were killed but we get slight information about the actual cause lurking in the background of the tragic affair.

If you will turn to Dr. Harrison's letter we have published in this issue you will discover Harrison, in his first paragraph when he addresses Prof. Chesley on the 7th of January, employed the following language:

"I note from the newspaper that you were listed as one of the persons taking part in the picketing of the capitol on Thursday, January 6. May I point out to you that Langston university is a state supported institution and employees of the university are employees of the state."

Now the Black Dispatch feels that Dr. Harrison in that paragraph was objecting to Prof. Chesley joining in the picket line, and that he said to him in that paragraph he did not feel an employee of the state had a right to participate in such a demonstration, and in the very next paragraph he tells Prof. Chesley "the question has been raised as to the wisdom of an employee of the state to picket the legislature."

This last statement needs interpretation. Does Dr. Harrison mean that the question arises in his mind as to the wisdom of such action, or does he mean that someone superior to him (Dr. Harrison) has called his attention to this act of Prof. Chesley? It is necessary to ferret under this second reference to picketing, for if Dr. Harrison means that members of the Board of Regents or the governor have raised this issue with him, it is very clear that the original letter was dispatched to the Langston professor in an effort to discipline him for picketing, and was an effort to curb academic freedom.

But Dr. Harrison apparently clears up the question we have just raised in this same paragraph, when he for the third time refers to picketing, when he says:

"Some of the officials have raised the question as to how you could have the time to join in a picket of the capitol . . . "

There you have it. Dr. Harrison admits that his superiors had been taking him to task because his subordinate had been in a picket line and he in turn in a letter, in which he mentions picketing three times, asks Prof. Chesley questions that answer themselves. Chesley had to admit he was in a picket line, he was forty miles away from the university and not in his classes on January 6, and he was on the pay roll of a state supported college while in the picket line.

We have digested Dr. Harrison's letter in this wise in order to weigh the facts contained therein against Dr. Harrison's statement now that he did not discharge Prof. Chesley because he was in the picket line. When he wrote the letter he had had no contact with Prof. Chesley and he could not charge he had been insubordinate up to that point. Chesley was certainly guilty of delinquency in classroom duty, but that could not be characterized as insubordination, and we feel as does Prof. Gracey in his letter to President Harrison, published in this issue, that a little shaving of his pay check would have been ample reprisal for this delinquency.

The whole affair is unfortunate and we believe had its genesis in Dr. Harrison's very obvious attack on the picket line. It will be recalled the Black Dispatch, at the time the picket line was established, made it clear that the effort was purely a student effort, and we did this not because we oppose picket lines but because we wanted to make it clear that this was not an approach the NAACP was making to the current legislature. Some rumors had gotten out the night before that the NAACP was sponsoring the picket line, and the NAACP did not think it advisable that its plans be joined in this effort. In fact, we forecast that the picket line might bring about complications as now perplex the university.

Nothing we have said here is a brief for anyone connected with the institution or with the strike. We know Dr. Harrison has the problem of discipline on the Langston campus. We know administrative authority has always to make some disposition of insubordination when it raises its head in organizational effort, and that he will have to follow some wise pattern of guidance to bring peace and tranquility to the campus. We think the frankest approach to the issue is to openly and frankly say that his superiors demanded the dismissal of Chesley because he was in a picket line. He will immediately come into better standing with the student body, who will know as a servant of the board he has to do as they direct. Interpretation of his letter to Prof. Chesley, in the light in which the Black Dispatch sees it, may point the way out.

Leadership Challenged

Organized Negro Democrats who sound their clarions and shout in the by-ways and hedges during every election campaign must face squarely the challenge that stands before them at the present time. The legislature is in session and the people whom they represent are expecting them to tell this law-making body what they as an organization expect the state to do about the controversal educational issue that will be presented to that body.

There is no need to rehash the facts everyone knows. There are just two major points that should be made: (1) The actual inequality existing in our dual system of education; (2) The colossal cost in bringing separate schools up to parity with the white school facility. The fact that the governor and the legislature are at loggerheads with the OEA regarding funds for the white schools should prove sufficient argument that the state is not economically prepared to maintain one school system, much less two. Right at this time the white schools of the state are demanding more money than the state has to spend, and it is an old adage, "One cannot get blood out of a turnip."

The question is: "How can the state with integrity meet the rules of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and the command of the Supreme Court of the United States respecting higher education except through integrating Negro and white education on the graduate level?" The time has come when "push has come to shove." There's no way to honestly dodge this genuine issue that sticks out in this state like a sore thumb. To put the question more concretely, we will say, "How can the state spend at this time from twenty to thirty millions of dollars (for that is what unbiased and conservative estimates say it will take) preparing to give from sixty to seventy graduate courses somewhere in the state other than at Norman or Stillwater?"

We, of course, know the committee of deans appointed sometime ago to study this matter indicated in their report it would cost from ten to twelve millions to provide such courses at Langston, but this report was made prior to the ruling of the Supreme Court which said the facilities in the two schools must be identical and the same. The deans report dealt with minimum standards while the court's edict necessarily insists upon maximum standards. The deans were sympathetic with the state's economic incapacity while the court was a harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice.

In addition to the attitude organized Negro Democrats should take on this subject, the Negro school teachers should also become alert to the danger that menaces them at the present time if the southern governors have their way, maintaining their dual system under the regional pattern now discussed. We learned on excellent authority last week the plan is to rid southern schools of all teachers who are not graduates of regional colleges if and when the plan gets into operation. Those Negro teachers who have been courting out-state scholarships and have gone to northern schools will find under the new plan they are to be displaced, and their jobs given to those trained in southern environment.

We point this out because there are a number of prominent Negro teachers in Oklahoma who have been supporting and endorsing the idea of out-state scholarships, despite the fact the Supreme Court outlawed this system of education in the Lloyd Gaines decision. It was somewhat of a selfish position they took, assuming it was the easiest escape for them personally. If the rumor we hear is authentic, Haaman is to hanged on his own gallows. It proves conclusively that when the NAACP wins a court decision Negro teachers, most all, should be the ones to adhere to such rulings. It proves again we cannot save one person unless we save everybody.

If Negro teachers must be trained in the South the best way to prevent lags from being placed in their courses is to receive that training in the same place where instruction is given to the whites, and that is the crux of the discussion here in Oklahoma at the present time. "Twill be a sad day for Negroes in the state when the state in addition to proscribing the type of education the blacks can receive will also exercise the right to tell Negroes the place where they must receive this doubtful training.

Political Acrobats

Whiskey and Negroes were two controversal subjects that vexed and perplexed the outgoing legislature as nothing has done in recent years. Both were given importance out of proportion to the concern the general public is giving to these two questions. The politicians cling to the experiences of the past and think today is yesterday.

These two issues stood out large and significant especially in the minds of those individuals who plan to run for governor. No one wanted to carry any weight on either of these subjects. The assumption is that one is "in Dutch" with the Dixiecrat element in the state if he supports civil rights and he has incurred the enmity of the church people if he opposes prohibition.

It is perhaps providential that these two thoughts dominated the minds of the legislators. It was decided to get them both out of the way and moot as issues in the next state election. The Black Dispatch has been watching closely the undercover attempts to get these two issues out of the way by those who feel they will be handicapped if they are live coals in the oven come 1950. Funding the common schools, free text books, roads and highways, public safety and agriculture took a deal of time of the legislature, but the two questions the vote-seeking boys want out of the picture in the next state election is the question of graduate training for Negroes, and whiskey.

Of course the legislators from the forks of the creek are not greatly concerned about the Negro question, especially in the southern section. It is only the boys who plan to make an appeal to the state-wide vote who recognize the importance of getting this matter out of their system. There are somewhere in the neighborhood of 40,000 Negroes who vote in Oklahoma's Democratic primary and gubernatorial candidates realize this vote alone can form the differenre between defeat and victory. It has proven this sort of pivot upon which the last three elections have turned. The vote-seeking boys realize also that there is this time unanimity among Negroes on the subject of graduate training and that the Negroes who feed at the patronage trough cannot be depended upon to lead the black voter in their direction unless their record is straight on this subject. They have noted the silence of the usually vociferous Negro politicians while the battle has raged regarding equality of education and they reason righly that no "stooge" can be depended upon to mislead Negroes on this issue.

On the national scene the civil rights issue also looms as an issue in the coming senatorial picture. Senator Kerr, who unquestionably owes his election to the Negro voter, joined the Dixiecrat element in the senate when the first test vote developed on civil rights. He will be remembered by the Negro voter at the completion of his term unless definite amends are made in the type of alignment he has made in Congress.

But Senator Thomas, who comes up for election two years from now, substantially improved his position with the Negro voter when he split with Senator Kerr on the Negro issue. Senator Thomas' senatorial stock sank to a low ebb when he supported the late Senator Bilbo, when he was ousted from the upper house of the federal legislature, but his recent action on civil rights has placed him in an entirely different light with the Negro voters.

It is suggested that Mike Monroney is responsible in a large measire for the placement of Negroes in the carrier and clerk division of the Oklahoma City Post office. The present postmaster Fred Shaw, is an appointee of Monroney and Negroes in the largest city in Oklahoma think very kindly of both Shaw and Monroney because of this action.

Of course, with the Truman administration attempting to effectuate a civil rights program, it is possible for considerable change to develop on the voting record of all of our congressmen and between now and 1952. There is some talk of the President c calling a special session to deal with welfare and civil right legislation. Congress, of course, may elect to do noting on this subject, as was the attitude of the 80th assemnly when previously called upon to attack the same problem. The Oklahoma delegation under such conditions eill be making tracke in the sand so that Negroes may intelligently vote when they offer themselves for reelection.

While our legislators and the govern want to soft-pedal the questi n of whiskey and civil rights at the present time, like Banquo's Ghost they both walk in at every feast.

Negro (Black Dispatch)

Segregation was firmly attached to the Boatman bill in order outside the palace. According to the fable, the old king that no one could say in 1950 that the 1949 legislature did jumped on a thousand horses and rode in all directions. away with traditional segregation. The boys when they frustration and seeming fright that stems passed the bill in its amended form knew that President But while fruct of our law-making bodies just now, both Cross would have to double his faculty to carry out the let- onal, is on its face disappointing, the Black ter of the present law. They did not appropriate funds with Dispatch feels that gains are being made of moral value. Mr. which to double the faculty and a realistic approach to the ary Citizen, as never before, is beginning to whole subject is that compliance with the Supreme Court order cancer that is eating at the heart of govern- and compliance with the newly enacted legislation respecting see clearly the cance hypocrites who hold political office may be graduate training will do violence one to the other and, common Ordinary Citizen has his balance and Kansas has just gone wet. While the hy- efore, and is getting ready for the kill. For- and Colorado, surrounding Oklahoma, have always been wet. confused, Mr. Commroup and remember, aside from the blacks Just how our solons feel they have improved the situation get the Negro group veterans, farmers and other minority groups respecting a prohibition law that obviously does not prohibit, are beginning to see what is wrong. The default of present is beyond our wisdom or understanding. We certainly do poise as never before ing to mean the creation of a real, effective not share the opinion of Governor Turner expressed in Sun- government is going ty of liberalism. While the politicians are day's papers, in which he eulogized the recent legislative and genuine party of present om something the common people are session. It seems to us that the legislative boys, when they running away from sc determination to get something worthwhile surveyed the suspicious looking outdoors this year, were vital issues with solve will be born, the force for moral and pretty much like the ancient king described in fable. The done. In this resolv ach and the various dissatisfied ones separated. One fateful social advancement.

The Student Putsch

Another angle from which the youthful excursion of two rafty old monarch had been hypocritically deceiving his sub- down to the A. & M. college last week can jects for many moons by the simple expedient of offering ch profit, is the growth of spirit among the orning, however, the old king awoke and looked out his Langston students dow Two years ago, who would have dreamed ad the younger generation. Tw

of a couple of immature blacks loping off to any of the white colleges in the state requesting admission?

But it happened last week, and the thing for us to inquire into is the origin of this impulse and urge to do this thing, which twenty-four months ago would have been considered fool-hardy and senseless. Did these kids crank their own motor, or were they schooled in the techniques they used by elders. The last question has been examined carefully by newspaper agencies of the state, for it was generally assumed when the news first reached the daily press that it was another attempt of the NAACP to attack educational inequality from another level.

The truth is, this newest effort has been spearheaded by an interracial group, having its roots in Norman, Enid, Oklahoma City, Langston and Stillwater. For many weeks these young people who meet almost every other week on some of the college campuses, have been planning to do something that would primarily bring the student angle into the picture. Last week's putsch seems to be their initial effort.

According to these two Negro students, they have been receiving catalogues and other necessary material incident to enrollment from white students on the A. & M. campus. They have held caucases, and when the Negro students arrived on the campus they knew where they were going because they had formed an alliance with the friendly white students who were working hand and glove with them. This is one of the most healthy signs that has developed within the framework of this whole controversy, for it is generally argued by the elders that trouble will break out, initiated by the students, if black boys and girls appear as students on white college campuses.

It should be noted that this union of hearts and spirits is on the under-graduate level—something we are strangely told for which the state is not quite ready. It seems to the Black Dispatch the appearance of two Negro students on the A. & M. campus and the subsequent poll at Phillips university, where there was a 90 per cent endorsement of Negro enrollment, is sufficient warrant for sober minded men and women of the state to seriously discount the propaganda abroad over Oklahoma that under-graduate training of white and colored is unthinkable and impossible. Last week's experience places this sort of gossip in the fiction category.

From where we sit and view the educational situation in Oklahoma, it looks as though the kids have outdistanced their fathers and mothers in social thinking. While the lawmakers of the present moment may see fit to halt progress and stymie social decency, it should be kept in mind that the kids on college campuses today will be the lawmakers ten years hence. It is a very stimulating and inspiring picture one observes as he gazes a decade ahead.

Overlooking Vital Issues

The current legislature is moving towards adjournment without much attention having been given to Oklahoma's most controversial educational problem. As usual this question is left until the last, when in a mad rush to conclude the session, hasty decisions, lacking the wisdom and good judgment that would otherwise obtain, will be made.

There are those who assume that all of the other business of the legislature has been more important than the question of graduate training, but measured by the yardstick of morality and social decency, the Black Dispatch believes it should have been subject number one on the agenda of the state's law-making body. Certain it is there is nothing the legislature will touch that has had international repercussions as has the cases of Ada Lois Sipuel and G. W. McLaurin. We had a letter from Africa this week, published in the "Mail Bag" column, discussing conditions at Langston university. Letters have come to this office from Norway, France and England from human beings interested in the outcome of this extremely debatable educational question. The position Oklahoma takes regarding education of its largest minority group has become a moral eyesore in the world today, despite the fact our legislators seem to discount the issue.

While our legislature thinks segregation a minor issue in Oklahoma, thousands of students in the city of New York interrupted classes last week about the same subject, and it must be kept in mind that those who battled the mounted police at the College of the City of New York were making an open and frontal attack on segregation of Jews and Negroes. Seventy per cent of the students left their classes with the thought that the underlying principle for which they were contending was basic enough in right for them to disrupt the college organization.

We wonder why our state solons cannot see in this and similar expressions of unrest in our social organizations evidence of open rebellion on the part of young white people to the status quo. Ofttimes we are unwilling or lack vision to see the involved social implications protruding from the movement of the people. We have in mind something similar when a little woman prior to the strife between the States wrote "Uncle Tom's Cabin." No one paid much attention to what was happening following reading that book, but Abraham Lincoln instantly placed his finger on the spot when he said, when introduced to her following cessation of the rebellion, "Oh, you're the little lady who started this civil war."

Twenty-six thousand baseball fans in Atlanta, Georgia, last Sunday were out to voice their protest against segregation when Jackie Robinson swatted the ball. They defied the Ku Klux, the Christian Fronters and the Columbians when they showed up to cheer a black idol reaction had said could not play. A poll taken by the Atlanta Constitution revealed that four out of every five white Georgians felt segregation should end in ball parks. That's a pretty good batting average against prejudice, and shows a very clear and present danger to segregation right in the heart of Dixie.

Right here in Oklahoma last week a poll was taken at the University of Oklahoma, the seat of this wrangle about segregation, and on the straight-out issue of whether segregation should be abolished on the Norman campus. The vote stood two to one in favor of democratic action. We're right in the midst of a social revolution, but our statehouse politicians do not seem to realize it.

It should be remembered that the Negro did not start the civil war. It was the conscience of the white man that started the bombardment at Fort Sumpter, identically as disclosed in incipient confessions articulate today in various and remote sections of the nation that something is wrong with our good faith and integrity. The conscience of America is again in labor, preparatory to giving life to a new birth of freedom. It arises from new vision that has come to labor and the masses which discloses "none can be free until all are free."

In the judgment of the Black Dispatch the issue from which the legislature has during this session turned aside and given slight attention, is the most important social question before that body. At the core of graduate training in Oklahoma is the question of right and wrong. It stands out like a sore thumb. Some morning, just as happened in France in 1789, some white youth is going to leap to the fore as did Camille Desmoulins in Paris, and the revolution will be on. Truth and right will prevail. They are eternal, and though crushed momentarily to the earth, will rise again. In that hour the stone that the legislative builders rejected will then become the head of the corner.

31 1949

Negro (California Eagle)

As It Should Have Been

The Robeson concert in Los Angeles Friday night was precisely the sort of meeting that it should have been. The noted singer arrived and appeared on a program peaceful in every way, in commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the California Eagle, the oldest Negro newspaper published in America. The Black Dispatch salutes Mrs. Charlotte Bass, the worthy and militant editor of this publication.

In addition to celebrating the anniversary of this noted publication, the appearance of Robeson last week in Chicago and San Francisco, following the disgraceful breaking down of law and order at Peekskill, is a distinct victory for free speech and free assembly. It proves conclusively that America is ashamed of the brutal, unbridled license at Peekskill that shamed our democratic pretensions.

We are in no wise in agreement that the Los Angeles meeting was a "dud," as newspaper articles Saturday seemed to infer. The first press reports from Peekskill cut the Robeson crowd squarely in half, and we have right to assume the same folk were doing the reporting at Los Angeles. Measured by this sort of yardstick, we are sure that 10,000 heard the noted singer.

Quite naturally the presence of hundreds of policemen before the gates at Wrigley Field was quite a deterent to attendance. It is not every citizen, irrespective of his color, who is going to walk into a murderous trap if he knows about the conspiracy in advance. If 10,000 had the courage to go out and hear Robeson Friday night, we are sure there were 100,000 who if they had had sufficient confidence in government, would have been on hand for the "Eagle" celebration. The appalling knowledge that flows from the Robeson meeting Friday night is vested in the fact that citizens are beginning to lose confidence in government. Incidents such as at Peekskill cause people to fear "law eforcement" in 1949.

But back to our first statement. Robeson, an American citizen, should be allowed to talk as long and as loud as he desires. America cannot condemn intolerance and hug it too. We have been told one cannot express his views in Russia. Surely we are not copying tactics of Stalin. It is absolute dictatorship that arbitrarily decides who can talk and what the subject shall be. The Black Dispatch is utterly tired of hearing autocracy preach democracy.

"How can I hear what you say when what you are keeps thundering in my ears?"

DUSTIN' OFF The NEWS

By LUCIUS C. HARPER

What Chicago Was Like When Robert Abbott Came Here

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Ill
6-4-49

When Robert S. Abbott left Hampton after graduating from the printing department and headed for Chicago he was given a letter of introduction to John R. Marshall, who had finished in brickmasonry there, and was then constructing the Chicago Board of Trade building. It was signed by General Samuel Armstrong, founder of the school, who some years before had sent Booker T. Washington to Tuskegee on a mission to build that institution into greatness from a log cabin start. Marshall, who later became colonel of the Eighth Regiment and served in the Spanish-American war, did what he could in the way of helping and encouraging Mr. Abbott, but there were few gates ajar, and he thought of stacking his trade for a while for a fling at law.



Mr. Harper

Col. Marshall occasionally furnished funds when Mr. Abbott ran short, which was more the rule than the exception. Further, he introduced him to Harry Dean, who was also attending Kent College of Law. Dean and Abbott were the only colored students attending the college, and their problems were somewhat identical; they studied together from one set of books.

Dean later became a sea captain, manning his own ship, "The Pedro Gorino," which he sailed as a trading vessel down the coast of Africa. He wrote a book of his African experiences in collaboration with the now great New York literary critic Sterling North, who was then a student at the University of Chicago. This book is titled "The Pedro Gorino."

Sat. 6-4-49

Mr. Abbott knew at least one thing in those hectic and trying days of his early struggles in Chicago and that was, he had made two genuine and helpful friends. Between these two his hopes were kept alive to some day publish a newspaper under his editorship. Neither Dean nor Abbott ever really practiced law. They hung out their shingles, but somehow clients ignored them.

Chicago in those days, of course, was a very different town than it is today. Opportunities for Negroes were strictly limited. A few doctors, dentists and lawyers were successful, and a few Negro politicians accepted "the crumbs" from white leaders. Next in line of prosperity came a few cafe owners, then postoffice employees, hotel, cafe waiters and railroad workers. Maids, butlers, cooks and entertainers thrived mostly on salaries and tips made in the notorious Red Light district, commonly known as "The Line." After this came the common jobs such as "what was left" in the Stockyard and saloon and barber shop porters down to dishwashers and moppers in Thompson, Powers and Weighman's restaurants. After that came the scramble for any kind of low type job.

6-4-49

Unions then were notoriously rank in granting Negroes memberships; giving them cards and operating an undercover conspiracy to keep them off jobs and out of work. In repairing the streets — brickdropping it was called — Negro workmen could "drop bricks" from the curb to the car line, but union regulations forbid them to go inside the street car tracks.

* * *

The first case Clarence Darrow, the great criminal lawyer, lost in Chicago was that involving a Negro named Johnson, a painter with a union card, whose patience became exhausted at this peculiar ostracism — bearing a union label yet not a union man. A business agent came to jerk Johnson off a job. An argument and struggle ensued, and a pistol bullet ended the agent's life. Darrow, bucking senting a penniless client, wasn't able to prove self-defense, and Johnson went to Joliet for life.

In Mr. Abbott's early days here, ordinary jobs had to be bought through employment agencies, and what a racket it was. College boys coming here seeking work to gain funds to further their education were the most pitiful victims. A job paying ten dollars a week cost ten dollars to obtain, and so on. In fact, one worked a week for nothing to get a job. Then you were not sure of continuous employment.

6-4-49

Ofttimes the foreman of a firm worked a racket in conjunction with employment agency operators. He would retain a worker sent by the agency for two or three weeks, then discharge him and call for another. The fees gained through this manipulation or turnover would get the foreman an under-the-table commission. It was exposed and broken up through better state laws and regulation through constant inspections.

There were two colored outlets in this type of business; Mmes. Winchester's, State and Thirty-second, and the Negro Fellowship League, Thirty-first and State, operated as a social center and employment bureau by Mrs. Ida B. Wells-Barnett. Fees for jobs in these followed the same pattern.

6-4-49

There were a few Negroes on the police force, but only as patrolmen — a Pullman porter's job with its then low pay but good tips brought a better monthly income. It was not until the Teamster's strike occurred that Negroes flocked into the police department when examinations were not required. It was many years later before a Negro was granted a promotion to sergeancy, then he was placed behind a desk at Woodlawn Station. He was William Childs, a graduate of Talladega College.

This was the environment in which Robert S. Abbott moved when he first came to Chicago; this was the Chicago he wanted to reform in order that his race could have opportunities on the basis of merit and not color. And this was the Chicago that was to benefit greatly from his tireless efforts in establishing The Chicago Defender, which he labelled from the very beginning — when it was only four pages — "The World's Greatest Weekly."

DUSTIN' OFF The NEWS

By LUCIUS C. HARPER

Chicago Sat.
Sat. 5-21-49

How The Chicago Defender Was Given Its Name

WHAT a determination Robert S. Abbott must have had when he left the printing department of Hampton Institute in Virginia to come to Chicago to found a newspaper. Here he could scarcely find a job of any kind, let alone working at the trade for which he had prepared himself. He tramped from shop to shop seeking work, only to be turned down on account of his color. Then he studied law at night at Kent College. Graduating, he went to Gary, Indiana, when it was in the pioneer stage, hung out his shingle but no clients came in. Back to Chicago he came with nerve, courage and the Idea.



Lucius Harper

Finally, a newly made friend, A. G. F. Sims, (now Superintendent of the Third Ward street department) came to his rescue. Sims got him a job at Henneberry's Job Printing Shop in downtown Chicago setting railroad schedules. Here Mr. Abbott remained for awhile, but was dissatisfied. He wanted to start a newspaper to defend his race, as he later stated. Chicago then had two Negro weeklies, The Conservator, that was mostly religious, and the Illinois Idea, that was purely political. The latter bobbed up during campaign times, and was edited by Shedrack B. Turner, who bore the unhappy alias of "Sand-bag" Turner. He later became a state legislator and lawyer and did splendid work in behalf of his race. The Indianapolis Freeman had quite a circulation in Chicago but was confined to the sporting element, mostly theatrical folk, and had little, if any, influence in local affairs.

Sat. 5-21-49

First, Mr. Abbott talked "Negro Newspaper" to every ear that would listen. He made his first public appeal one Sunday afternoon at a rehearsal of "The Choral Study Club." at Institutional AME church where 250 singers had gathered under the direction of Prof. Pedro Tinsley. They cheered him. But there was only one "real soldier" out of this group who came forward to battle with him; who gave him a word—and kept it—that every prospective publisher likes to hear:

"If you get out a paper, Mr. Abbott, I'll help you sell it!"

* * *

SHE was Miss Elnora E. Claytor, who, when the first Chicago Defender was issued on May 5, 1905, sold 100 copies at Thirty-first street and the "L" station. In addition, she contributed church and society items since that first issue to boost the sales, and that loyalty—pledged before the paper even began—has not been broken for forty-four years. She still does it.

There was, however, another factor that developed out of Mr. Abbott's appearance before "The Choral Study Club." One of the singers—a relative of a young and promising Chicago attorney, James A. Scott—mentioned in his presence that "a Mr. Abbott had told the Club he was going to start a newspaper." Attorney Scott knew Mr. Abbott. Later, the two met at Thirty-first and State Streets, then the center of all Negro activity—stand there for an hour or two and all of Negro Chicago would pass in review. It was known as "The Stroll."

"Abbott, I hear you are gonna start a newspaper; what is it to be named?" inquired Scott.

"I've got everything but a name," Abbott shot back, "what would you call it?"

Sat. 5-21-49

AND this is what Scott said, and how birth was given this newspaper:

"Name it The Defender—The Chicago Defender. Make it vigorous; make it felt. Put plenty of fire in it. Make it defend somebody or some cause. There's your name—The Chicago Defender."

Speaking to me about this incident years later, Mr. Abbott said the name so impressed him that he jotted it down on several envelopes for safety against forgetting it. He repeated it many times on his way home that night: "The Chicago Defender; The Chicago Defender: The Chicago Defender." From that day on, he said, it became a part of him.

When he published the first Chicago Defender at the old Western Newspaper Union on the West Side, he autographed the first copy to: "Atty. James A. Scott, who named this paper, with thanks and kindest regards, from Robert S. Abbott, editor and publisher." It was just four pages, Mr. Abbott said, but it was as preciousto him as twenty-four. Scott framed it for keeps, but through the years and deaths, it is now lost.

* * *

JAMES A. SCOTT was a brilliant barrister and a distinguished looking man. He served as Assistant State's Attorney, and was an expert on Extradition law. He wrote a book on it. Further, he authored a book entitled: "The Law of Arrest," which was a legal guide to policemen in the performance of their duties. It was the required and recognized manual for years in the Chicago Police Department. As a hobby, he raised canary birds. I've counted as many as fifty in his home at one time.

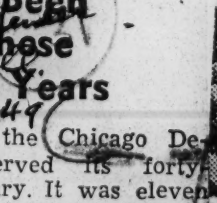
DUSTIN' OFF The NEWS

By LUCIUS C. HARPER

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Ill
Sat. 5-14-49

Much Has Been Done In Those Forty-Four Years

ON MAY 5th the Chicago Defender observed its forty-fourth anniversary. It was eleven years old when I joined the staff in 1916, in that one-room back office (formerly a bedroom) in Mother Henrietta Lee's flat on the second-floor at 3159 So. State st. Our phone was Douglas 3339.





The office was a single line, adjacent to the kitchen and the editor's living quarters—a bit dark, dingy and narrow — were just a few steps from its entrance. It was rather an exclusive nook as a sort of tantalizer. I don't believe any of the staff ever went into it. There wasn't any room for more than a single desk, on which rested—eight-thirty — Mr Abbott was in bathrobe and slippers, in the office, greeting us and opening the mail. And Mrs. Lee—God bless her—was in the kitchen cooking, usually, fried rice, sausages, biscuits and coffee. Those of us who had skipped breakfast—and was no miracle in those days—just inhaled those combinations of tantalizing odors as a sort of appetizer.

NEWS WAS gathered in a rather novel manner. There were no regular news agencies, as there are now, supplying releases to Negro papers. News was culled from personal, on the staff, consisted of five: Frank Young, Atty. Georgia Jones (now Mrs. Georgia Jones Ellis) and Phil Jones, Carey Lewis, Julius N. Avendorph kept up with Johnston and Robert Butler; Mabel Johnston kept up with the immediate office in the Hudlin home on Vernon ave. Miss Georgia Jones (now Mrs. Georgia Jones Ellis) and Phil Jones, Carey Lewis, Atty. Julius N. Avendorph kept up with Johnston and Robert Butler; Mabel Johnston kept up with packed as tightly as possible events in the social world and t small bedroom space. Al- brought their copy to the office nderson, the editorial writer, when en route to their regular uperintendent of Provident jobs.

* * *

Thirty-sixth and Dearstreets; Tony Langston, the- editor, had desk space in c store on State near Thirty- treet, and W. Allison Swee- stering columnist of his papers. News was culled from per- ney, did his writing in a basement day, did his

sonal letters to the editor, complaining of indignities committed against the race in faraway communities; from letters of agents who felt the printing of such items would aid their sales, and occasionally from some persons who thought "the world" should know what was happening to the race in its uphill climb. usually well-written and needed little editing, Frank George, a waiter on the Michigan Central, was the "exchange editor." He appointed himself and served without pay.

On each run to Chicago he would scan the coaches from end Pullman to first coach, gather what daily papers passengers had discarded, bring them to the office and clip out all news pertaining to Negroes, which, of course, was mostly crime. Occasionally, a decent item was unearthed. What it did not contain, our fertile imagination added. Alexander O. Taylor, a parlor-car attendant on the Michigan Central, and our Cleveland correspondent, performed a similar service on his trips to Chicago. Taylor always brought along a lemon or apple pie to share with the office force while he prepared his news, which also consisted of items he had collected during his day off in Cleveland.

When I was added to the staff the office became a bit overcrowded. I took up the space where customers usually sat to transact business, so it was thought best to shift me to another location. I took my typewriter to an old weather-beaten desk that had been discarded on the back porch which was concrete and roofless. Later, Robert Butler, another reporter, just graduated from Wendell Phillips, joined me in this sky-roof office. When it rained we transferred to the kitchen to pound out copy while Mother Lee—very nearby—prepared her dinner or supper as the occasion warranted. When the sky cleared, we went back to our air-conditioned quarters. We used old second-hand Oliver typewriters, that in addition to requiring great physical energy to operate, echoed a noise when struck similar to that of a riveter using his drill on a steel beam. What a racket we made!

* * *

MR. ABBOTT made himself useful about the office in many ways. He even served in the capacity of "copy boy" when all hands were busy on other things. We printed by contract then at the Drovers Journal in the Stockyards, and many are the times when we had prepared copy that required immediate dispatch, he would bundle it and take a trolley to the Journal composing room. He had no auto. It was years before he purchased one If advised, on returning, that some person had phoned the office regarding placement of an advertisement, he would "light-out" on foot for many blocks away, secure it and back again to perform a similar mission. Many times these ventures netted only thirty or forty cents a trip, but he never tired.

Each day he made his rounds to keep in touch with what he called his "outside staff." He would visit Alf Anderson at Provident to talk over topics for editorials, often wait until they were finished, then hustle them to the office. He would stop off at Dr. A. Wilberfore Williams' office, Thirty-third and State streets—our Health Editor—the first on a Negro paper, and pick up his copy. Then to Tony Langston's for a lively chat—Tony was quite a wit—and to perform a similar duty. When any special writing was required, that of the rascal-whipping variety, where a colored brother down South had agreed too much with "his white folks" against the interest of his own race, Mr. Abbott would make a bee-line to the basement-den of Hon. W. Allison Sweeney on Vernon avenue. Here the two would outline their barrage of torrid words against the offender with such naked sentences, sizzling at each period, that the paper that week would barely clear the mails. Sweeney was regarded as a rascal-whipper par excellent, and could "cuss out" an Uncle Tom in well-chosen English, though profanely tinted. He was from the old school of journalism that dealt mainly in personalities.

In "Looking Backward" over these forty-four years the Chicago Defender has plowed over the rugged road of journalism, thirty-three of which I have spent in its domain, there are many predictions that Robert S. Abbott made that at the time seemed quite ridiculous—some quite laughable—but time has served him well, and today these predictions are realities. During the Month of May we shall talk about them.

Mustard Gas Bomb Fells 1

Afro-American

Potion in Whisky Bottle Routs Score

Sat. 1-22-49

POLICE ON GUARD

Fear More Violence

Baltimore, Md.

After 2-Year Strike

CHICAGO — (ANP)— The Chicago Defender, last Saturday, offered a reward of $1000 for the capture and conviction of the person who threw a whisky bottle mustard gas bomb into its press room early last Friday morning.

Louis Martin, managing editor, made the announcement after the bomb was thrown into the newspaper's press room early Friday morning during the final press run of the city edition.

One pressman, Melvyn Granger, 23, was spattered by the gas, which burned his shoulders and arms, and 19 others were routed. Granger was rushed to the Michael Reese Hospital. Workers finished their jobs wearing gas masks.

Labor Dispute Held Cause

Defender officials hinted that the printers' strike, now in its second year may be the cause of the attack. In the meantime a 24-hour police guard has been placed on duty at the newspaper's plant.

A spokesman for the newspaper said this incident probably was the climax of a number of threatening notes sent to various officials concerning the printers' strike at the plant.

Later John H. Sengstacke, editor and publisher of the Defender, told Chief of uniformed police Ray Crane that he knew of no reason for the bombing other than the efforts of the ITU Union to force the newspaper out of business.

"We Shall Continue Fighting"

"The throwing of the stench bomb into our press room was just another chapter in a series of episodes which we believe are designed to drive our paper out of business," he said.

"We shall continue fighting as we have during the past 48 years of our continuous publication. We believe that we can take this and other problems of publishing a newspaper fighting for the rights of colored persons in our stride, too."

Chairman Lloyd Johnson of the Defender "chapel" of Local No. 16 of the ITU, was quizzed on the bombing, said:

"I have no statement to make, because I know nothing about it." He did not elaborate.

Chicago printers of Local 16 have been on strike against the Defender and all four of the city's white dailies for more than 19 months. Pickets patrol the front of all five newspapers daily. The strike began Dec. 6, 1947, at the Defender when 50 printers and other employes walked out.

It was pointed out that the ITU members walked out of the Defender plant without notice or without giving the publication opportunity to negotiate although the Defender had previously offered to bargain in "good faith" with representatives of the union.

In sympathy with the Typographical union, mailers walked out on a similar basis in 1948.

The newspaper spokesman added that the next possible attack taken against the paper might be the clogging of the presses, unless heavy police protection is maintained.

Bomb Discribed

What was identified by Det. Drew Brown of the Police Department bomb detail as mustard gas was poured into a half-pint whisky bottle and tossed into the composing room through an open window at about 12:45 a.m., Friday.

Mustard gas is one of the more dangerous war gases used during World War I and stored by both sides in World War II. It causes big blisters and sores on its victims. Granger's condition is not considered serious by hospital authorities.

Reward Offered In Defender Bombing

The Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

CHICAGO — (ANS)— John H. Sengstacke, publisher and editor of the Chicago Defender, this week offered a $1000 reward for the arrest and conviction of the person or persons responsible for throwing a mustard bomb into the press room of the Chicago Defender last week. The bomb injured one pressman and resulted in a slight delay of the publication's city edition.

Negro (Clear Views)

31 1949

New Magazine To Hit Newsstands Next Month

CHICAGO—(ANP)—A new magazine, Clear Views, will hit the newsstands in September. Its editor and publisher is Miss Ernestine Williams.

This magazine will be planned to appeal to the tastes of the whole family. Miss Williams says:

"We of the staff of Clear Views want our magazine to serve as an informative organ for the whole family. We want our journal to give its readers clearer views on what is happening in this world."

Among the fields to be covered at various times by the magazines are business, home, literature, fashions, and numerous special features. Short stories will also be a part of the new publication.

One of the feature stories will give the behind the scenes drama of "Destination Freedom," radio show featuring the stories of Negro achievement. The article will be written by Miss Janice Kingslow, who often has been featured in the weekly show from radio station WMAQ in Chicago. Miss Kingslow also starred in "Anna Lucasta" in Chicago.

MISS CUNNINGHAM EDITOR

Heading the staff of Clear Views will be Mrs. Margaret Cunningham who will serve as associate editor. Mrs. Cunningham has won numerous prizes in poetry, and she is a member of the Chicago Writers' guild.

Mrs. Lillian Key Larvanette, head of the Larvanette model school, is fashion editor. Lorenz Norton will be in charge of layout and advertising.

The editor, Miss Williams, is a former winner of a Delta Sigma Theta sorority scholarship which carried her through Loyola university in Chicago. She has written for the Robbins (Ill.) Herald and the Bronzeville magazine.

Offices of the magazine are at 16 E. Garfield blvd., Chicago 37, Ill.

CLEVELAND GUIDE TO CELEBRATE 18TH ANNIVERSARY WITH BANQUET AT WHEATLEY EVENIING OF JUNE 29TH

The Cleveland Guide, which has been published in this city for than 18 years, will celebrate its 18th anniversary with a banquet at the Phillis Wheatley Association, Wednesday evening, June 29th

During the last six years social clubs have attended the banquets in a group, and have occupied individual tables. Among them were, the Curosity Club, Zephyr Club, Topaz Club, Climbers Bridge Club, High Hatters Club, the Modernettes Bridge Club, the Shouda Club, Victory Club, Helomola Club, the Bronze Adorable Club, Superiorettes Club, Rosebud Club, the Friendship Club, the Sepia Queens Club, Women's Circle Club, the Mid-Week Club, Our Gang Club, Femmes Unique Bridge Club, the Royal Matrons Club, Dignities Club, the East 84th St., Neighborhood Club, the Congenial Ladies Club, the Parrots Club, East End Sewing Club, the Volunteers Club, Twelve Brothers Club, the Club Loani, and the Lucky Eight Club

Places where the Guide's anniversary banquets have been held previously, include the Heat Wave Bar, Myers Restaurant the Nest Club, Dunbar Club, (first anniversary banquet) Lucky Barr, Cedar YMCA, and the Phillis Wheatley Association.

CLEVELAND GUIDE TO CELEBRATE 18TH ANNIVERSARY WITH BANQUET AT WHEATLEY

The Cleveland Guide will celebrate its eighteenth anniversary with a banquet at the Phillis Wheatley Association, Wednesday evening June 29th, at 6:30 p. m.

Previous aanniversary banquets of The Cleveland Guide have been held at the Heat Wave Bar, Myer's Restaurant, The Nest Club, Dunbar Club, Lucky Bar, and the Cedar Y. Avenue Y. M. C. A.

The public is cordially invited to attend. Dinner will be $1.75. Social clubs, have for the past five years, attended the banquets of the Cleveland Guide. These clubs have had individual tables. Invitations have been sent to 60 social clubs.

Reservations can be made by writing The Cleveland Guide 2279 E. 90th St., Cleveland, 6, Ohio, or by calling, TY1-2111.

The banquet, last year, was held at the Phillis Wheatley Association. Watch The Cleveland Guide for additional news about the eighteenth anniversary banquet.

Minister Reports Papers Stopped In Two S.C. Towns

CALHOUN FALLS—(ANS)—Mayor O. B. Tucker of Calhoun Falls said Tuesday that a report made to the South Carolina NAACP Conference that he had stopped the sale of Negro newspapers here, was "a lie."

Mayor Tucker's statement was made to a reporter who queried him on a report made to state executive NAACP secretary, E. A. Montgomery of Columbia, that Tucker and the mayor of McCormick, in the adjoining county south of here, had stopped agents in the two towns from selling a nationally distributed newspaper.

Mr. Montgomery had the names of the two representatives, which had been given him by an Abbeville county minister on the week-end, who said that citizens had been deprived of their right to read.

The Mayor's Statement

Mayor Tucker, denying the charge, told the reporter, "You may say for me that any statement accusing me of stopping the sale of colored newspapers here is a lie. I have never seen one around here or anywhere. I am not guilty this time." The mayor appeared disturbed by the report.

While he didn't enlarge on the "this time" in his statement, it is probable that he was recalling the August, 1948 beating of Rev. Archie Ware here as he voted in the state's first primary. Rev. Ware's sworn statement accuses a relative of the mayor, who earlier had offered an alibi for the suspect named by the minister.

NAACP To Investigate

Informed of the mayor's statement, Mr. Montgomery said that the charge would be investigated and a statement on findings released later.

An attempt to reach McCormick's mayor by telephone was unsuccessful. Meanwhile, investigation was underway late Tuesday to discover whether or not a ban was on McCormick and whether or not town underlings had instructed representatives of newspapers here to cease sales.

Agents Frightened

One citizen would not agree to be quoted, said that following the Ware beating, several agents for newspapers in this area resigned after their papers came in with front page stories of the Ware beating.

The resignations, he said, were not in disapproval of the newspapers but in fear of being molested by white authorities if they were observed distributing the papers.

However, at Columbia, The Lighthouse and Informer said none of its agents in the area had quit. In fact, it reported, all had increased their business.

Last Case In 1943

The last case of an official attempting to halt the sales of Negro newspapers in the state was in 1943 or 1944, at Walterboro, where an agent for The Lighthouse and Informer reported the town's mayor had called him in and advised him not to sell copies of that or further of that or any other newspaper, ostensibly because of a large number of Negro soldiers at the Walterboro Air Base.

The newspaper notified other newspapers also affected and within one week's time the mayor had the matter arighted.

About the only people who consistently report they cannot read one of their own papers are the men confined to the S. C. penal farms, who claim that officials have no objection to their reading daily newspapers, but who seize each Negro paper arriving, even through the mails.

BITS AND SNATCHES:

Meant to mention that Jimmy Hicks, one of our most affable colleagues, is the new prexy of the New York Press Club, the Association of Negro journalists. Jimmy took the gavel over from Julius J. Adams.

James Hicks Heads N. Y. Press Club

NEW YORK—(NNPA)— James L. Hicks, New York correspondent of the National Negro Press Association, was elected president of the New York Press Club at the organization's annual elections held at the Theresa Hotel last week.

Hicks nosed out Julius J. Adams, managing editor of the New York Amsterdam News, to win by one vote. Adams is a founder and was the first president of the club which was organized last year.

St. Clair Bourne, public relations director of the New York State Department of Labor, was unanimously elected vice president, succeeding James Reid who did not stand for reelection.

Jean Wade, employee of the New York Age, was reelected financial secretary, and Marjorie Rochester, recording secretary.

Newspaper Woman Managing Editor



Lena Rivers Smith is the newly appointed managing editor of The Informer chain of newspapers of Houston, Texas, it was announced recently by Carter Wesley, publisher. She is a graduate of Lincoln (Mo.) University.

A former Kansas Citian, Miss Smith came to Houston in August to launch the Houston edition of the Kansas City Call. Before coming to the city, she was a member of the news staff of the Call (in Kansas Ctiy) and had previous experience in newspaper work with the Chicago edition of the Pittsburgh Courier. She is a member of the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority.

Lincoln School of Journalism (Armistead Pride) is turning out capable journalists who are in demand and the school's Newsletter serves Negro Press effectively as its trade journal. Publishers have hired Newsman Ernie Johnson as a P.R.O. and he is now putting out a quarterly.—"Deteline", also a trade journal. The two could well meld.

Courier has hired J. P. Reynolds and his "Sam on Auburn Ave." from Atlanta Daily World and made consequent inroads on local circulation. . . .Note to Pride.—add Ed Lawson Sr., to list of part-time newsmen with white dailies; with Washington Post for 20 years. . . .Sec. Forrestal has been ready to hire a P.R.O. to aid Jimmy Evans' office but powerful publishers weren't agreed on suitable man. . . .That Pringle-Howard article in SEP fell into old rut of calling Negro Press inaccurate.

Sour notes.—Some papers anxious to please a certain woman leader refused to run a criticism of her by a newsman with national coverage. Circumstances surrounding discontinuance of Opportunity magazine (Urban League) appear out of focus.

Gift Subscriptions Given To Lincoln Journalism School

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo. — (ANP) — Chester A. Smith, the Boston business man who two years ago diverted $50 intended for purchase of a tombstone for his mother's grave to the acquisition of 101 valuable old Negro periodicals from Greenwich Village bookshop for the university's school of Journalism, sent his 1948 Christmas wishes to the campus in his own unique way.

He sent the School of Journalism library one-year subscriptions to two magazines which do not now appear on its racks. They are Business Week and the Harvard Business Review.

Mr. Smith, who established the Martha Bingham Clyce Memorial in the school in 1944 in honor of his mother with a sizeable group of books and periodicals from his personal library, has consistently contributued various items to the school for the past four years.

He is a native of Fulton, Mssouri. His mother was born in New Bloomfield. Missouri.

Photographer Wins 2 Prizes

Student's Shots Score In World-Wide Contest

By JOHN C. HOWARD
(Special to The Courier)

NEW YORK—"I am surprised as all get-out."

This was all Griffith J. Davis, 25-year-old New York journalism student, could say when notified this week that his two photographs won $125 in a worldwide picture contest.

His two pictures, one a forlorn-looking dog and the other of an Atlanta shack, netted him savings bond prizes. Announcements of winners in the competition sponsored by Popular Photography magazine was made simultaneously this week in five cities where the prize pictures went on display. Showings will continue for two weeks in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland and Los Angeles.

In addition to country-wide exhibition, one of Mr. Davis' pictures entitled "Dog Pound Blues," appears in March issue of Popular Photography magazine. This shot won $100.

WORKED FOR EBONY

Explaining how he made this photograph, Mr. Davis said, "It was taken last summer while nosing around an Animal Welfare League station in Chicago. Neglected and orphan dogs are cared for there until some family adopts them. This pup had such a soulful expression on his face I couldn't resist taking his picture."

His other prize-winner, "It Pays To Advertise," was taken in Atlanta two years ago, he said. It shows a rundown shack with a large sign across the front advertising house repair service. Mr. Davis said that he had donated the $25 prize from this picture to Morehouse College in Atlanta where he graduated in 1947. His alma mater recently started an endowment campaign.

After graduating from college, Mr Davis joined the editorial staff of Ebony magazine in Chicago. As roving reporter for this publication he traveled more than 25,000 miles throughout the United States and Mexico compiling picture-stories.

CALLED SHOTS LUCKY

His most popular story centered around the Mexican honeymoon of Nat "King" Cole last spring. On a year's leave from Ebony, Mr. Davis is currently living in New York where he is enrolled in the Graduate School of Journalism at Columbia University.

The New York opening of the Popular Photography exhibition was marked by a preview cocktail party at the Museum of Science and Industry, RCA Building. When asked about his two prize winners on display Mr. Davis scoffed. "Luck shots, that's all, lucky shots!"



GRIFFITH DAVIS
. . . money for pictures

BANNING OF MAGAZINE IN EAST AFRICA PROTESTED

NEW YORK—The Council on African Affairs has protested to the British Ambassador against the ban on its magazine "New Africa" in British East Africa.

'Twas And Is Necessary

Necessity was the mother of colored newspapers, same as she was of other inventions.

The Lincoln (Mo.) University Clipsheet in commenting upon the publication of the first colored paper, "Freedom's Journal" in 1827, which came into being to fight for the abolition of slavery, states the following:

"The Afro-Americans were informed more than once by white editors that the white press was the spokesman for white people and that if freed slaves wanted articles published favoring Negroes they must establish newspapers for themselves. As a result, the Negro press today has grown to 155 papers, one of which is a daily.

"The comparison of the Negro press with the white shows that in 122 years, there is no other institution in the development of the Negro race which has made so rapid an advance or that has helped so wholeheartedly in the acceleration of the progress of the Negro as its press."

This "necessity" of having colored papers and the truth of the statement that "the white press is the spokesman for white people" are facts that any careful observer sees demonstrated every day in the year. We observe, for instance the Associated Press account of the Thursday, April 28 baseball game between the Brooklyn Dodgers and the New York Giants, which the Dodgers won 15-2, as it appeared in the Nashville Tennessean the next day.

The news story made heroes out of all of the white players who starred in that game. The paper, however, failed to point out that the game was "put on ice" for the Dodgers in the 6th inning when two Dodgers hit homeruns, with two men on base in both cases. One hero was McCormick, white, the other was Campanella, colored. McCormick was glorified as a hero, but not a word about Campanella. We knew of Campanella's exploit as a result of having heard a radio account of the game.

Quod erat demonstrandum.

Negro Newspaper Week Radio Program Over WDIA Hailed By Both Race Groups

Two prominent white journalists paid tribute to the Negro Press in general and the Memphis World in particular Sunday morning of this week over radio station WDIA when a thirty-minute forum was held on the subject, "What The Negro Press Has Meant to Memphis." They were Clark Porteous, staff writer for the Memphis Press-Scimitar, and author of "South Wind Blows" which he wrote while studying at Harvard University on a Nieman Fellowship, and Mrs. Marie Wathen, columnist, and contributor to Collier's Magazine.

Arrangements for the program were made by Memphis World Editor Lewis O. Swingler, charter member of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association; and Prof. Nat D. Williams, author of "Down On Beale Street," and WDIA radio announcer for two popular programs, in observance of National Negro Newspaper Week.

Universal Life Insurance Company yielded its "Good Neighbor" radio time and Club Zanzibar likewise sacrificed its initial time on the air in order to make the Negro Press Week Program possible.

Both Mrs. Wathen and Mrs. Porteous, speaking from their experience with the Memphis World, voiced strong convictions about the role this publication has assumed in depicting the more favorable side of the news where Negro people were concerned. Both were of the opinion that the daily newspapers (Press-Scimitar and the Commercial Appeal) were giving an increasing amount of space to activities of Negro people.

"This is not only due to a more liberal attitude on part of the daily press, Mr. Porteous and Mrs. Wathen said, "but Negroes themselves are making more of the news that call for greater space."

Justice In New Jersey?

There is a cloud of doubt and suspicion surrounding the conviction of six young Trenton, New Jersey Negroes, now in prison awaiting execution for the murder of a 73 year-old white man more than a year ago.

Bruce Bliven, in the May 16 issue of The New Republic, has written a critical appraisal of the facts in the case and says: "There is grave doubt as to the guilt of all six and not more than three were ever involved, in any way, by the state's uncontested evidence." Memphis World

According to Mr. Bliven, the evidence shows that on the night of January 27, 1948, William Horner, old and feeble, lived in a run down area on North Broad Street in Trenton. He is said to have had a wife, and six children, but was separated from his wife, and had been living many years with a woman much younger than himself. Memphis, Tenn.

The story from here on reads like a page taken from any backwood, rural southern community. Throughout America and in certain parts of Europe, the case has become to be known as the "Little Northern Scottsboro case."

Mr. Bliven said of the treatment: "These men were grilled hour after hour, day and night, with the threats of punishment, with the enormous psychological prestige of the white man over the Negro, the safe over the insecure, the policeman over the frightened, timid, slum dweller, who all his life, has seen, not justice but coercion looming at the end of a night stick." Jus. 5-24-49

What is the state of New Jersey trying to do, show the Lyons, Ga., officials how to deal out justice?

Reporting of All News, Good and Bad, Fight for Changes Held Main Functions

Afro-American Baltimore, Maryland Sat. 5-7-49

NNPA President Sets Precedent as He Talks Before 1100 White Publishers in New York

By JAMES L. HICKS

NEW YORK (NNPA)—Colored newspapers are making their most significant contribution to America by reporting the news, both good and bad, and by focusing attention on perons of both races working for "a more just and orderly arrangement of our democratic house," the American Newspaper Publishers Association was told last Wednesday.

The speaker was Thomas W. Young, president of the Negro Publishers' Association. His audience included more than 1100 newspapers publishers attending the 63rd annual convention of the ANPA at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel.

Mr. Young's address marked the first time a colored publisher had addressed the convention and highlighted more than 10 years' cooperation between the colored and white publishers of the nation.

Dowdal Davis Also Present

Attending the convention with him was Dowdal Davis of the Kansas City Call, who is also an NNPA official. Sat-5-7-49

The occasion was also marked by the announcement by the white publishers that for the first time a colored writer, Clifford E. Johnson of the University of Oregon, had won a prize in the ANPA's annual journalism contest.

He took second place for a paper on "How Readership Studies Affect News, Features and Advertising in Newspapers."

Declaring that he was not disposed to argue or even discuss the "merits or demerits" of the conditions which created the atmosphere for the existence of the colored press, Mr. Young said he preferred to "throw some illumination on the origin, purposes, scope and future" of that press.

Functions Explained

One of the colored press's major functions, he said, is the protesting and exposing of "conditions inconsistent with the democratic concept we all treasure."

A second, he declared, is to report the news both good and bad which is of particular interest to colored people and which is often "ignored, incompletely recorded, or sometimes distorted by the general press"

"And a third purpose," he went on, "is to inspire the members of this minority group to higher aims and greater deeds, by hearalding the accomplishments of colored individuals, groups and institutions, and by publishing the good deeds of the increasing number of those, both North and South, who are trying to bring about, frequently against the prevailing current of public opinion, a more just and orderly arrangement of our democratic house."

It is in this field, he asserted, that colored papers were perhaps making their most significant contribution. Sat-5-7-49

"In spotlighting the annual accomplishments, in supplying the missing pages from our history book, in stimulating the ambition to achieve and to excel, our papers are teaching and helping the masses of our people to reach a higher level," he explained.

Not "Anti," Definitely "Pro"

He attacked the concept which pictures the colored press as "anti." In reality, he observed, it is considerably more "pro" than it is "anti" pointing out that it is "emphatically and unquestionably' pro-American. He said that the things hich "we are really against are those which in the broader sense might be termed un-American."

There are, Mr. Young said, roughly more than 135 colored newspapers, only one of which is a daily. Two of these papers, he declared, have circulation above 200,000 each week, another approaches that figure, and at least two other boast circulations of more than 50,000.

Picturing the colored newpapers as one of the race's most "significant" economic achievements, Mr. Young pointed out that they represent the largest capital investment and the biggest manufacturing or producing business.

Hugh Profits Rarely Made

On the other hand, he pointed out, it is contrary to fact to believe that the operation of such papers is a source of high profit to their owners. Instead, he observed, the prominent position of colored newspapers in the economic picture is "a relative one."

Main problems, he said, are finding competent employees, for its mechanical departments and the rising costs of publishing a newspaper. As to the latter, he said most five cent papers have raised their prices to a dime and several which sold for a dime before the war have increased their prices to 12 or 15 cents.

He blamed the shortage of competent mechanical personnel on the "limited opportunities" in this field and pointed out that there has never been an "appreciable" surplus of colored printers, pressmen, stereotypers and photoengravers. However, he asserted, colored trade schools are beginning to turn out more today after having been cirtually closed during the war.

WILL BE NEEDED UNTIL—

Answering the question as to whether colored papers can and do serve the best interests of their readers and at the same time contribute to general welfare Mr. Young said he believes that they can and they do.

Such papers, he added, stand as a warning to "totalitarian interests beyond our shores" that in this country democracy is still a "vibrant force." Sat-5-7-49

As to the necessity of colored newspapers, the NNPA president said "We do not need or desire the kind of society which produces them, but so long as we have the kind of society we do, then a minority press is necessary if we are to maintain checks and balances in our democratic system."

SOUTHERN PAPERS BLAMED FOR STEREOTYPING NEGRO

Atlanta, Ga. Daily Journal 3-1-49

Southern newspapers are the chief cause of the continuing stereotyping of the Negro, the Southern Regional council charged in a special study made public last week.

The council is an organization of professional, business, labor, and church people of both races in 13 southern states. Its aim is to achieve "equal opportunity for all the people of the south."

WSAA-28-49

The report, entitled Race in the News, discusses current newspaper practices in the handling of racial news. It also prescribes standards for improved treatment and coverage of Negro news in the general press.

"The responsible editor," declares the report, "need not indulge in special pleading for the Negro. He need merely to apply the same news values to Negro events that he does to all events. He simply handles stories about Negroes with the same respect for accuracy, the same sense of fair play and good taste, that good journalism demands in all stories."

The gravest charge against newspapers, said the council, is that "through repetition they have made the word 'Negro' in a headline synonymous with 'crime.'" The report added, "It is not honest reporting, but propaganda, when the preponderance of news stories about Negroes have to do with crimes committed by members of the group."

Pointing out that human interest stories usually present the Negro as a comic figure, the council said, "Americans Negroes, like any other Americans, should be newsworthy when they achieve honors, exercise citizenship, suffer hardships or face personal disaster and tragedy."

The report urged that courtesy titles be used uniformly for members of both races, that the taboo against pictures of Negroes be discontinued, and that papers "gather and report the news, as it is made, in the Negro community."

The Chattanooga Times and the Richmond Times-Dispatch were cited as Southern papers that have all but freed themselves of the habit of viewing Negro news by discriminatory standards.

Midwest Journal Issued At Lincoln

JEFFERSON CITY, Missouri, — December 24, 1949--The Volume 1 number 2 issue of The Midwest Journal, successor to the Research Bulletin, issued by Lincoln University is being distributed by the University.

As a magazine of research and creative writing, the publication is a vehicle for the free expression of opinion. The current issue includes contributions by present and former faculty members, alumni, students and guest contributors.

The Midwest Journal is compiled by a staff of University personnel with Dr. Lorenzo J. Greene, Professor of History, Editor. Associate Editors are Cecil A. Blue, English, and Sidney L. Reedy, Education. J. Erroll Miller serves as Business Manager. Miss Consuelo Young and Scovel Richardson complete the staff.

NNPA Head Speaks to American Publishers



Important ground was broken when President Thomas Young of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association addressed the annual convention of the American Newspaper Publishers Association in New York last week. Shown here following the address, are: left to right, David W. Howe of Burlington, Vt., outgoing president of ANPA; Mr. Young, who also wdal H. Davis of the Kansas City Call, who isheads the Journal and Guide of Norfolk; Do vice president of NNPA, and Cranston Williams, general manager of ANPA.

Detroit Tribune "On Last Lap"

DETROIT—(ANP)—A few possible weeks of publication were saved for The Detroit Tribune last week when Andrew F. Fruehauf, president of the Fruehauf railer Corporation, temporarily halted governmental sale of the newspaper's fixtures, furniture, and machinery, and equipment.

The internal revenue department of the federal government had padlocked the doors of the Tribune office because the paper had failed to pay withholding taxes under the Federal Insurance Contribution act and the Federal Unemployment Tax act.

Hope for revitalization of the Tribune, however, seems slow for Fruehauf claims: "prior lien on the equipment of the Midwest Publishing Company," because of a loan of $11,158.26 to the Tribune.

For the time being, Editor Ulysses Boykin is putting out the paper the best he can without an office, and is carrying on a small circulation.

The oldest Negro newspaper in Michigan, the Tribune seems to have fallen upon evil days under the Boykin leadership. Main criticism says that he does not have enough newspaper experience to publish, and also that he has surrounded himself with too many members of his family with no journalistic experience.

On the practical side, it seems that the paper's failure to pay interest on mortgage or the capital investment of Fruehauf and also neglecting to even pay the internal revenue department has sounded the death knell to an old institution.



FRANK L. STANLEY

HERE FOR ALPHA CONVENTION — It is reunion time for many old friends locally during the Alpha Convention. One of the best known returnees is Frank L. Stanley, publisher of the Louisville Defender, who is a graduate of Atlanta University, and recognized as an outstanding journalist. Stanley is former president of the Negro News paper Publishers Association which spearheaded many fights for civil rights. The NNPA, through the Atlanta Daily World obtained the first Negro White House Correspondent.

Stanley will be remembered as a "great" on Atlanta University Athletic teams under W. H. "Chief" Aiken, especially in 1928 when A. U. defeated both Clark and Morris Brown. He was named an All-American quarterback at the end of the season.

Story Of Abbott In New Magazine

STOCKTON, Calif. — A new monthly magazine, "Sepia Highlights," has made its debut here. The August issue, now on the press, depicts the rise of Robert S. Abbott, late publisher of the Chicago Defender, in an article captioned: "From Rags to Riches."

Albert White, publisher of the Stockton Press for four years, is editor and publisher.

L. A. Gets Two New Negro Papers

LOS ANGELES — (ANP) — Two new Negro newspapers were launched here last week, bringing to six the newspapers in Los Angeles.

The two new journals are the Illustrated Star headed by Clinton Arnold, and the Los Angeles Comet headed by Louis V. Cole.

Both papers will come out on Monday, The Illustrated Star will be a tabloid. Its general manager, Arnold, is formerly of the New York Amsterdam News and for the past two years, theatrical editor then business manager of the Los Angeles Sentinel.

The Comet will be distributed free as a shopping guide. Cole recently resigned as advertising manager of the Sentinel.

Besides the Sentinel, other Negro papers in Los Angeles include the California Eagle and the Los Angeles Tribune.

. . . A quartet led by J. Wesley Jones sang spirituals at the funeral for John T. McCutcheon, white Chicago Tribune cartoonist. . . . A new tabloid newspaper, the Columbus, Ohio, Sentinel, hit the newsstands last week. . . . A new magazine, "Sepia Highlights," published its first issue at Stockton, Calif. . . . The first book on a dental subject is off the press. The book, "Psychosomatics and Hypnotism in Dentistry." The author: Dr. Andrew E. McDonald of New Orleans. . . . Employment in the U.S. jumped 27,000 in May, to 60,000,000, the highest in seven years. . . . Race relations have improved at Oregon State College, Portland, the Portland Urban League reports. No longer are colored students barred from certain dormitories. . . . The death rate from tuberculosis in the nation is 40.1 per 100,000. For Indians it is 211.9.

31 1949

Negro (Howard University Pictorial Bulletin)

Howard Bulletin Wins Top Citation

WASHINGTON

The editors of the Howard University Pictorial Bulletin, official alumni publication of the institution, were presented last week with an "Award of Merit" for "outstanding editorial achievement."

The Howard publication was cited in the 1949 Magazine Awards competition sponsored by the American Alumni Council for alumni publications in the United States and Canada.

1st Colored Award

This is the first American Alumni Council prize presented the editors of a magazine representing a colored school.

The Howard Bulletin is the only publication of a college or university in the District of Columbia area to receive an award this year.

The winner of the top award, "Magazine of the Year", was presented to editors of the Dartmouth Alumni Magazine. Other winners received "Award of Merit" citations.

Last year's winner of the "Magazine of the Year" award was the Harvard Alumni Bulletin.

Basis of Awards

The American Alumni Council is made up of 457 colleges and universities in the United States and Canada, and sponsors an annual competition among the member colleges and universities to honor outstanding magazines.

They are rated on professional quality, over-all interest, balance and imagination; in appropriateness for the various publics, and in service to readers and respective universities.

The Howard Bulletin is published by the Office of the Secretary under the directorship of James M. Nabrit Jr., secretary of Howard University, and is edited by Otto McClarrin, director of publicity.

Mr. McClarrin, a graduate of Howard University, has served as editor of several newspapers and magazines, among them Newspic and various publications of Consumers Unions where he served as assistant editor.

Behind The Headlines

Shades Of The Missouri Compromise!

By ALBERT L. HINTON

SHADES OF THE Missouri Compromise!

This historic incident is described in the Encyclopedia Brittanica as "an agreement (1820) between the pro-slavery and anti-slavery factions in the United States, involving primarily the regulation of slavery in the public territories." It is cited now only because the principal characters in this little drama happen to be residing temporarily in the state made famous by the infamous Missouri Compromise.

And thereby hangs a tale.

Among the many congratulatory letters which have come to the Journal and Guide as a result of its third consecutive winning of a Wendell Willkie Award, was one last week signed "Two Virginia Lads out of their element." It turned out that they were white students at the journalism school, of the University of Missouri, and hailed from, of all places, the Tidewater section of Virginia which is, of course, right in our own back yard. But it was the subject about which they were writing, what they said, and how they said it, that intrigued me as I am sure it will interest and amuse readers of this column. This was neither a compromise nor a cold war with its battles of nerves, its blockades—imaginary or otherwise—and what have you. The gauntlet was down—but good.



MR. HINTON

This was open warfare duly declared, a real honest-to-goodness shooting war, a battle of words with some damyankee Brooklynese characters on one side, and a couple of "Virginia lads out of their element" on the other.

THE LATTER, ACCORDING to their communication, had been taking a terrific licking when suddenly the tide of battle turned and, for all practical purposes, the war ended, not in a compromise—Missouri or otherwise — but in brilliant victory for the Rebel forces. It was just a small something, a press announcement that the Journal and Guide had won its third Wendell Willkie Award. But it was enough to turn the tide of battle in their favor and completely rout the enemy. And the two Tidewater lads were duly gratful.

This is what they wrote:

Gentlemen:

We are two Virginia lads trying to become journalists here at the journalism school of the University of Missouri. When we saw the announcement that you had won the Willkie Award it sort of raised our statue here; so we take time out for thanking you for an indirect pat on the back.

Though this is a "border state" university, the journalism school is populated mainly by Brooklynese characters. It's EASY to be a liberal on the race question if you come from Brooklyn and points North, therefore, these lads with whom we live in a dorm are all fired with a zeal to save the American Negro.

Since we live among them, and since we give our ancestry away by our Tidewater speech, we come in for the brunt of the attack on the white lyncher of Negroes. Everytime some of these arch liberals look up from a copy of the New Republic, they glare at us and want us to read of the horrors the South metes out to the Negro. They can't seem to believe us when we tell them that we've never lynched a Negro, or that we've never taunted a Negro, or that we've never glared at an elderly colored lady who dared to sit a bit farther forward in a bus than the rear fender.

THEY CALL US LYING so and sos when we tell them that we're absolutely opposed to jim crowism on transportation, and that we are heartily for FEPC, anti-lynch laws, and anti-poll tax legislation on the NATIONAL level.

They don't believe that Virginius Dabney is really sincere in his attitude toward the Negro, but say that Dabney sees the tide starting to roll, and that he wants to jump on the liberal bandwagon. So you can see that we've begun to pay for the sins of our ancestors.

However, when they found out for sure that in the State of Virginia, a Negro family could, without being lynched, conduct such a fine newspaper, and without fear of white (or Negro) vested interests in segregation, stand up for such principles, these characters began to believe that we maybe were telling them the truth in part. To wit, hat we know and admit that conditions are horrible, but that a real reformer can't be too far ahead of the intelligence of the electorate.

So please have our thanks for making it possible for us to forward the belief that all southern whites aren't lynchers of Negroes.

And, as soon as we scrape up the pennies, we are going to give a subscription of your paper to the journalism library so that all readers here of the Chicago Defender can find out what a really good Negro newspaper looks like. (At the rate of our stipend in the mess hall, we figure we'll have to wash 3600 dishes for the subscription).

Sincere good luck to you!

Two Virginia Lads out of their Element

P. S.—If the "Two Virginia Lads out of their Element" will forward their names and addresses, the editors of the Journal and Guide will be happy to comply with the subscription request.

Guide Receives Citizens' Certificate of Award



Guide Given Testimonial By Citizens' Committee

NORFOLK — Officials, executives, and employees of the Journal and Guide were honored by more than 400 citizens, representing the c[illegible] community, at a testimonial dinner in D. G. Jacox School here, Tuesday evening. The oasis of the honor was

Community Honors Willkie Winner

emphasized by the guest speaker, Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University, who, after commenting on the Guide's winning of a third Willkie award, declared:

"This newspaper is a successful adventure in human relations, a business success, a fine example of family solidarity, a noble example of the emulation of fathers by sons, and an example of team-work."

CERTIFICATE OF AWARD

A special certificate of award was received for the organization by P. B. Young Sr., publisher of the newspaper. Achievement pins were presented to the following officials:

P. B. Young Sr., P. B. Young Jr., editor-in-chief; Thomas W. Young, president and business manager; John T. Belden, advertising manager; Ellis F. Corbett, circulation manager; John Jordan, manager of the Portsmouth bureau.

Albert L. Hinton, managing editor; James H. Knight, manager of the Peninsula bureau; A. A. Morisey, manager of the North Carolina bureau, and William M. Hubbard, production manager.

Dr. Johnson, with frequent references to the historical development of America's free institutions, said that the Journal and Guide has commanded the confidence of laymen and journalists of both races by the integrity of its editorial columns, high standard of public service its readability, and its "calm but powerful, reasoning."

CITED FOR OBJECTIVITY

Papers such as the Guide will be pushed aside by those which scream for violence against evils at any cost.

Indicative of the progress of the colored race, he said, is the fact that the Guide was cited by objective journalists for coverage of the formation of the United Nations and for its campaign against educational inequalities.

The Journal and Guide stands as a symbol of world progress, the noted educator said. Referring to the struggle for equality on the part of Colonial and other oppressed peoples, he said we need to know how other groups are solving their problems and that this information is being published fairly by the honored newspaper.

"A GREAT NEWSPAPER"

"The Guide is not just a great Negro newspaper—it is a great newspaper by any standards," the guest speaker declared.

P. B. Young Sr., expressing the gratitude of those honored, said that achievements of the Journal and Guide reflected the intelligence and team work of all the newspaper's employees.

He cited the Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch and the Norfolk Virginian Pilot as daily papers which have helped to create better race relations and in improving the community as a unit. Mr. Young introduced the executives and other employees to the citizens.

CITY MANAGER AND EDITOR SPEAKS

Expressions of appreciation for the public service of the Journal and Guide were made by C. A. Harrell Norfolk's city manager, and William Shands Meacham, associate editor of the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot.

"It is an obvious fact that Norfolk is a better city because of this newspaper," said Mr. Harrell.

S. H. Bell, chairman of the testimonial promotion committee, presided. Invocation was by the Rev. C. E. Griffin, pastor of First Calvary Baptist Church. Mrs. Myra Pharr Mercer sang two solos, and selections were rendered by the choir of Norfolk Division of Virginia State College under the direction of Noah F. Ryder.

PRESENTED BY ATTORNEY DIGGS

J. Eugene Diggs, local attorney, introduced the guest speaker, and commented on the services the Journal and Guide has rendered in Norfolk.

Achievement pins were presented by Winston Douglas principal of Booker T. Washington High School, and the certificate of award was presented by Dr. G. Hamilton-Francis.

Mrs. E. S. Peters chairman of the testimonial executive committee read messages commending the newspaper for its achievements and expressed appreciation for the community.

THE CITATION BY CITIZENS

The citation presented by Norfolk citizens reads as follows:

"A committee of citizens of Norfolk, Va. honors the officials, executives, and employees of the Journal and Guide.

"For their team work in gathering and disseminating news of civic, educational, political, religious and cultural nature, in a sane, concise and readable style.

"For their public service in journalism that earned the third straight Wendell L. Willkie Award.

"For 40 years of distinguished service in the city of Norfolk and throughout the nation in carrying the message of hope, courage and love for humanity and molding public sentiment in support of human rights."

The committee planning the testimonial was composed of:

S. H. Bell, chairman; Mrs. E. S. Peters, chairman executive committee; Horace G. Christopher, secretary; Attorney C. A. Bibbins, Dr. Lyman B. Brooks, Attorney J. Eugene Diggs, M. E. Diggs, Winston Douglas, H. C. Holman, Dr. Alfred C. Fentress, Attorney W. W. Foreman, Dr. G. Hamilton-Francis, Rev. J. Jasper Freeman, Miss Constance Fuller, Dr. John T. Givens.

The Rev. C. E. Griffin, Miss Margaret Gordon, the Rev. W. L. Hamilton, F. W. Lewis, the Rev. Richard B. Martin, E. T. Poole, A. T. Richter, Dr. Frank R. Trigg, Donald C. Wingo, the Rev. U. G. Wilson, the Rev. S. A. Wilson, the Rev. F. P. Wise.

Hostesses were: Mrs. Horace G. Christopher, chairman; Mrs. C. Arnett Bibbins, Mrs. J. R. Brown, Mrs. W. P. Collette, Mrs. Thomas J. Fountain, Miss Hattie N. Harrison, Mrs. Louis L. Hughes, Mrs. Edwin A. Rogers, Mrs. F. P. Wise, and Mrs. William T. Smith.

The decoration committee was composed of Mrs. W. S. Jones, chairman; Mrs. F. R. Trigg, Mrs. J. H. Hoskins, Mrs. J. P. Jones, Mrs. James Moore, Mrs. Bailey Wyche, Mrs. Phillip Beslow and Mrs. Henry Wright.

Into Battle. The Young approach, among other things, got Gloucester County to float a $250,000 bond issue to improve conditions in Negro schools, and persuaded Norfolk to pay the same salaries to Negro and white schoolteachers. On only a few occasions has the *Guide* used the frontal attack. After a Negro was convicted of raping a white woman and condemned to death, the *Guide* decided he was innocent. It defied local custom by printing the woman's name. A white man read the story, gave testimony that proved the case was a frame-up.

The *Guide* is a good moneymaker, but the Youngs look forward to the day when the paper will no longer be needed. Says T. W., who is president of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association: "If the daily newspapers . . . adequately reported [Negro news] and crusaded against all injustices . . . they would take away the . . . reason why Negro newspapers exist."

(Negro) Journal and Guide

White Publishers Hear Negro For The First Time

Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Va.
Sat. 5-7-49

By JAMES L. HICKS
NNPA News Service

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Colored newspapers are making their most significant contribution to America by reporting the news, both good and bad, and by focusing attention on both colored and white individuals of the North and South who are trying to bring about a "more just and orderly arrangement of our democratic house," Thomas W. Young, president of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association, declared in an address at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel last Wednesday.

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Sat. 5-7-49

PRIZES AWARDED

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NEGRO PRESS AIMS

Instead, he elected to "throw some illumination on the origin, purposes, scope, and future" of that press.

He saw as one of the major functions of the colored press the protesting and exposing of "conditions inconsistent with the democratic concepts we all treasure."

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SEEKS TO INSPIRE

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PROBLEMS NOTED

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COOPERATION NEEDED

He expressed appreciation for the cooperation given by daily newspapers in various communities and said the colored publishers could overcome one of their greatest handicaps through exposure to the good example of cooperation set by the ANPA in the publishing business.

This handicap, he pointed out, has been a "not too familiar understanding" on the part of some colored publishers of a "good, solid trade association by a sufficient number of the member papers."

He also expressed a hope that the ANPA would send a representative to the NNPA convention in Washington, D. C., next June.

DOCTOR BUNCHE'S SPEECH

Dr. Ralph Bunche, Acting Mediator for the United Nations scored a strong point against American hate and intolerance last Monday night in New York at a dinner, given in his honor.

"As an American and a Negro", he told the American Association for the United Nations, "I cannot avoid reminding the United States of its duties toward its 14 million Negro citizens who are deprived of many of their fundamental rights."

Dr. Bunche struck a forceful blow against bigotry and racialintolerance, saying: "I believe you will agree with me that racial bigotry makes a mockery of both the Constitution and the Charter."

Nowhere in his speech was there a hint of a feeling of bitterness. His language was clear and concise. His appraisal of America's failure to the Negro was temperate and sober. And his logic was inescapable. "I have a deep seated bias against hate and intolerance. I have a bias against racial and religious intolerance. I have a bias against War, and I have a bias for peace," said Dr. Bunche, who also received the Association's annual reward.

It is a great pity that Dr. Bunche had to refer to the practice of American bigotry as one of the hindering causes against us in the eyes of the Family of Nations. But it was not left to him to tell the story of America's failure to the Negro. Newspapers and radios in every land are already making capital of the fact that Negroes are denied political, economic and social equality. The conduct of the Mallard trial at Lyons, Georgie has become an open secret in nearly every corner of the world. The Negro, therefore, remains the greatest single test of American Democracy either at home or abroad.

Memphis World
Tues. 5-17-49
Memphis, Tenn.

Capital Spotlight

Congressman Dawson Entertains Newsman

By LOUIS LAUTIER
For the NNPA News Service

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Representative Bill Dawson, of Chicago, tossed a cocktail party at the Cimmarron Club for publishers who were here attending the annual meeting of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association.

Among those attending the party were the Frank Stanleys (he's publisher of the Louisville Defender), the Louis Martains (he's publisher of the Michigan Chronicle), D. Arnett Murphy (he's advertising manager of the Afro-American Newspapers), Bernard Young (he's editor of the Norfolk Journal and Guide), Dowdal Davis, general manager of the Kansas City Call.

C. A. Scott, editor and publisher of the Atlanta Daily World; William O. Walker and Lawrence O. Payne, editor and associate editor of the Cleveland Call and Post; Carter Wesley, editor and publisher of the Informer papers; C. C. Dejoie Jr., editor of the Louisiana Weekly; Howard Murphy, business manager of the Afro; Cliff MacKay, Afro managing editor; Emory Jackson, editor of the Birmingham World; Roy Garvin, advertising manager of the Washington Afro.

FRANK HORNE, race relations adviser, Housing and Home Finance Agency; Booker McGraw, also of the Housing and Home Finance Agency; Judge Armond W. Scott of the District of Columbia Municipal Court; ex-Judge James A. Cobb, George E. C. Hayes, Robert R. Church, Ernest E. Johnson, NNPA public relations director, New York City; Thomas W. Young, president of the Norfolk Journal and Guide; Jim Murphy, circulation manager of the Afro-American Newspapers; Colonel Campbell C. Johnson, executive assistant to General Lewis B. Hershey, director of Selective Service, and Marguerite Ingram, a secretary in the office of Senator Paul H. Douglas, Democrat of Illinois.

John H. Sengstacke, editor and publisher of the Chicago Defender, and Charles P. Browning, public relations director of the same paper, flew in from Chicago and were luckier than Ralph Bunche, director of the United Nations Trusteeship Division, who flew from New York with Washington as his destination but landed in Raleigh (North Carolina). The plane on which Sengstake and Browning flew hovered over the city for nearly three hours but finally came down. They were about two hours late for the banquet. As a result of their experience, Sengstacke has again given up flying.

Bill Nunn, editor of the Pittsburgh Courier, drove Mrs. Robert L. Vann, president and treasurer of the Courier, from Pittsburgh here. Dowdal Davis, newly elected NNPA president, drove from Kansas City and from here went to Baltimore and New York before returning West.

* * * *

THE CARL Murphys (he makes it a rule never to go out after dark) spent the night of the NNPA banquet in Washington.

Horace G. Dwiggins, a medico at the Veterans Hospital at Tuskegee (Alabama) stopped over here recently atfer taking the second half of the American Board of Ophthalmology. He was confident he will be the tenth colored medico elected a diplomate.

An instructor and four students from Virginia Union University left Washington the other day for Bradley Field (Connecticut) on the first hop of a flight to Egypt to study. They will get the regular summer school credit, nine semester hours, for taking the trip, which is the first of a series of such travel courses.

From Bradley Ffield they flew to London; from London to Ostend, and from there to Antwerp where they will be received by the University of Antwerp's Colonial School.

In the party were Prof. Clennon King, history teacher and native of Albany (Georgia); Albert Norrell, Richmond (Virginia), Emma Wodson, New Kent (Virginia), and Thomas Tucker, Washington.

Newspaper Publishers at National Convention Get Kansas Citian as President

Washington, D. C. (NNPA)—The three-day annual convention of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association, held at Carver Hall, came to a close last Saturday after affiliate groups had held separate one-day sessions.

A joint session between affiliate groups followed the separate meetings. The editorial groups probably will hold a fall meeting at which election of officers will take place.

Dr. Bunche Could Not Land

Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, director of the United Nations trusteeship division, who was to receive the John B. Russfurm award at a dinner last Friday night, was flown to Raleigh, North Carolina, when the plane he was riding was unable to land here.

The award, which was made for last year's outstanding contribution to advancement of democratic ideals, will be forwarded to him at Lake Success, New York, officials said.

Dr. Bunche was scheduled to speak at Carver Hall and his arrival was awaited until word was received from him that his plane had been unable to land in Washington because of bad weather and he had been grounded at Raleigh.

Editor Speaks

B. M. McKelway, editor of the Washington Evening Star and president of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, told the publishers at the dinner that they were concerned "with a branch of journalism that in its general objectives is the oldest form of journalism."

Dowdal H. Davis, general manager of the Kansas City Call, was elected president of the NNPA last Friday. He succeeds Mr. Young, who served as president for two years. Carl Murphy, publisher of the Afro-American Newspapers, was elected vice president.

The office of secretary-treasurer was split, and William O. Walker, editor and publisher of the Cleveland Call and Post, was continued as secretary. Mrs. Robert L. Vann, president and treasurer of the Pittsburgh Courier, was elected treasurer.

Dowdal Davis Named President At Tenth Annual Press Meet

By EMORY O. JACKSON

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Dowdall Davis of the Kansas City Call Friday was elected president of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association at the association's tenth annual convention in three-day session at Carver Hall, Howard University here.

C. A. Scott of the Atlanta Daily World was elected to a two-year term on the eight-man Board of Directors.

Other officers elected were Carl Murphy of the Baltimore Afro-American, vice-president; William O. Walker of the Cleveland Call-Post, secretary; and Mrs. Robert S. Vann of the Pittsburgh Courier, treasurer.

Two year members of the Board elected in addition to Mr. Scott were Thomas W. Young, of Norfolk Journal and Guide; Carter Wesley of the Houston Informer; and D. Arnett Murphy of the Afro-American. Elected to one year terms were Frank L. Stanley of the Louisville Defender; John Sengestacke of the Chicago Defender; L. E. Martin of the Chicago Defender; and C. C. Dejoie of the Louisiana Weekly.

31 1949

Negro (Ohio Sentinel)

New Weekly Newspaper Established in Ohio 31

COLUMBUS, Ohio—(ANP)— Announcement was made here last week by Russell A. Jackson, veteran Columbus newspaperman, of the formation of a new Negro weekly newspaper to be known as the Ohio Sentinel.

Jackson, editor-in-chief of the Sentinel, stated the ownership of the paper will consist of himself and several other Columbus businessmen and women, who will conduct the company on a partnership basis.

Chief owner is Edmund B. Paxton, assistant Franklin county prosecutor, who is also president of the Sentinel Publishing company. The other owners include the following: Charles C. Seward, vice president and advertising manager; Annie Stevens, secretary-treasurer; Amos H. Lynch, who at the age of 23 becomes one of the youngest managing editors in the country; Ernest Martin, production manager, and Mattie Marsh and Benjamin Andrews, production assistants.

President Truman Lauds Negro Press

Commentator

31 Central Mich.

By Ernest E. Johnson

WASHINGTON, D.C. —President Truman last week hailed the seventh annual observance of National Negro Newspaper Week, which opened on Sunday and continues through March 5. Sat. 3-5-49

Recalling the founding of the first Negro newspaper in 1827, the Chief Executive noted that "we are just as much concerned with the liberation of the human spirit as the pioneers of the past century."

"The struggle for human freedom has many forms, and it never ends," he added. "Ahead of us lies the goal of full and equal participation by all Americans in both the responsibilities and the rewards of our national life." 3-5-49

TRUMAN PRAISED

Announced simultaneously was the passage by the executive committee of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association meeting here of a resolution which praised Mr. Truman's "forthright fight" for civil rights and endorsed his "general program for the health and welfare of the common people of our land."

chided those leaders here who would have the Japanese, Filipinos, Koreans, Chinese, Hawaiians and Puerto Ricans throw aside their rich historic cultures for only those of America. Jul. 2-1-49

"Hawaii, more than any other place under the "stars and stripes" is the hope of real democracy. It is a land of rainbow people with faith in America. Here they have a chance to prove to the world how neatly their various cultures can fit onto the national pattern, for the habits of Western Europe, as revised by the mainland and the Anglo-Saxon world are outweighed by the sheer force of numbers," stated Davis.

long-time journalist. Charles Batters of NBC's Washington staff will be moderator.

The proclamation in which the governors joined reads as follows:

"Whereas, this Nation and its people derive all their blessings from a just God and a just Constitution; and

"Whereas, the Courts of Public Opinion among us have always been ready to hear and grant relief when justified to those who, rightly or not, felt the need for such appeal; and

"Whereas, their freedom to enjoy life has long depended in large measure upon a free press; and

"Whereas, such a free press, available to and used well by our minorities as the Guardian of their rights and ap leader for justice for them, Jul. 2-25-49

"Now, therefore. I (hereby proclaim 'Negro Newspaper Week' and ask) the people of this State to avail themselves of this period to become more familiar with this important minority press which, while serving the interests of a special group, has protected also the interests of all Americans against encroachments, real or potential, upon their civil liberties."

Early signers of this proclamation were Governors Sid McMath of Arkansas. Henry F. Schricker of Indiana, Frank J. Lausche of Ohio, and Oscar Rennebohm of Wisconsin.

Davis Joins Hawaiian Newspaper

Memphis World

Jul. 2-1-49

BY HUBERT H. WHITE

HONOLULU— (ANP) — Frank Marshall Davis, Associated Negro Press executive editor on leave and nationally-known poet, has been added to the staff of the Honolulu Record. The Record is edited by Koji Ariyoshi, well-known liberal.

Unofficially, this writer understands that the Record is owned by the powerful International Longshoremen's Workers union. It certainly has championed the Negro's rights to all public places in Hawaii of which there has been a growing disposition to ignore.

Mr. Davis' first article is causing wide comment in all circles. However, all that has reached this writer's ears is very favorable. I meet every day with a Chinese group of businessmen and must say, "he is a splendid writer."

LEADERS CHIDED 2-1-49

The article was headed on page five, "Anglo Saxon Culture Is Not Better, Only Different." Mr. Davis

Governors Laud Negro Press

The Equity 31

Norfolk. — Governors of three states in which there is a Negro press have asked the people of their states to join in the seventh annual observance of "Negro Newspaper Week" from February 27 to March 5. Thomas W. Young, President of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association, said this week.

Birmingham

As members of NNPA were converging on Washington where the executive board will meet on Friday and Saturday, Young announced also that B. M. McKelway, vice-president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, will discuss with in a radio network program the topic "Does Our Democracy Justify a Negro Press?" The program will be heard via the National Broadcasting Company facilities from 12 to 12:15 p.m., Saturday, February 26. Jul. 2-25-49

Mr. McKelway is editor of the "Washington Star," a director of the Washington Board of Trade, and a

The Democrats Did It

The Negro press should not, and doubtless will not play into the hands of the emotional Trumanites of color by putting major stress on the part Midwest Republicans played in defeating civil rights legislation in the present session of congress.

The leading colored newspapers fought for the election of the Dewey-Warren ticket, and with due apologies, fought for the re-election of faithless Republican senators and congressmen whose blunders in the 80th Congress gave Mr. Truman his most potent weapon for a Democratic victory.

Nashville Banner

But Mr. Truman and the Democrats pledged to pass civil rights laws if a Democratic president were elected and Democrats controlled the House and Senate. They did not say they could not function if there were a Republican minority in the House and Senate.

Nashville Tenn. 3-4-49

The country elected a Democrat as president; it elected a stalwart and resourceful Democrat in Alben W. Barkley to preside over the senate. These Democrats took over in the House and Senate and proceeded to return Democrats to the seats of the mighty in the house speakership and to the chairmanships of all of the committees of the House and the Senate. Democrats, therefore never before had so much power as they had at the beginning of the 81st Congress.

In the Senate, they had 54 of the 96 members, a clear majority. All they needed were 48 senators to pass a rule to end filibustering. If 48 Democrats had voted to sustain Vice President Barkley's ruling, that ruling would have stood, even if all other 48 senators had opposed it. 4-3-49

But when the test came, fifteen Republican men and the one lady of the Republican faith voted to sustain Mr. Barkley. The Democrats, with a total of 54 members could not muster 32 men of honor in their party to stand by the ruling of their Vice President.

The Democrats didn't pass any civil rights laws because they never intended to pass any, in the first place. Mr. Truman, himself, ran from the scene of combat—ran off to a vaction in Key West, Florida when the going got tough. The Apostle Peter on the night Jesus prayed in Gethsemane, did not show less faith in a great cause than President Truman showed when he ran off to Key West to get his sun tan.

Students from 16 high schools in six states attending the first annual interscholastic press workshop at Lincoln University (Mo.) School of Journalism during Headliner Week, May 2-3, formed the Interscholastic Press Association and elected Isabelle Lynch (second from right, second row), junior, of Roosevelt High School, Gary, Ind., president. Sat. 5-21-49

Others in the picture are (first row, left to right): James Dalton,, Tulsa, Okla.; William Russell, editor-in-chief, Lincoln Clarion and workshop instructor; Miss Octavia Wynbush, journalism instructor, Lincoln High School, Kansas City, Mo.; May Jacques, Dorothy Timmons, Lincoln High School, Moberly, Mo.; Betty Britt, Douglass High School, Columbia, Mo.; Margerie Johnson, Lincoln High, Moberly, Mo.; Audrey Warrick, Sumner High, Boonville, Mo.; (second row) Harold Jackson, Douglass High, Columbia, Mo.; Patsy Ruth Hardiman, Lincoln University Laboratory High, Jefferson City, Mo.; Martha Nash, Lincoln University, Laboratory High School; Carmelita Kimber, Lincoln High, Kansas City, Mo.; Susan Thompson, Lincoln High, Kansas City Mo.; Eddie Maxine Rice,, Lincoln High, Kansas City, Mo.; Doris Henson, Douglass High, Columbia, Mo.; Johnna Clint, Lincoln High, Kansas City, Mo.; Isabelle Lunche, Gary; Wilma Garth, Lincoln High, Moberly, Mo.

Third row, A. S. Pride, dean, Lincoln University school of journalism; Ira Wenze, Monitor High, Fitzgerald, Ga.; Odis Jackson, Booker T. Washington High, Tulsa, Okla.; Anna Mac High, Tulsa, Okla.; Charles Lofton, Booker T. Washington High, Tulsa, Okla.; Anna Mae Thirkles, Lincoln High, Kansas City, Mo.; Betty Lou Watson, Sumner High, St. Louis, Mo.; Margaret Fox, Pate High, Danville, Ky.; Miss Alice D. Campbell, Booker T. Washington High, Tulsa, Okla.; Sam-neth L. Vaughn, Lincoln High Moberly, Mo.; (third row) Wilcoln Ridge, Ky.; and Alva Patterson, Douglass High, Coton, Pate High, Danville, Ky.; Jesse Harris, Lincoln High, East St. Louis, Ill.; Andrew Jackson High, Tulsa, Okla.; Jeanette Mathews, Sumner High, St. Louis, Mo.; Evelyn Scott, Sumner High, St. Louis, Mo.; Mrs. Macy E. Tymony, Lincoln High, Moberly, Mo.; Miss Gloria Houston, Douglass High, Webster Groves, Mo.; Mrs. Kathleen Houston, Lincoln Institute, Lin-

Students Attend Annual Press Workshop

Journal & Guide, Norfolk, Va. Cat 5-21-49



Lucky Strike Ads To Give Public Vital Information

NEW YORK — Starting this month the makers of Lucky Strike Cigarettes have launched an intensive campaign giving inside information on the purchase of tobaccos contained in this famous cigarette.

This campaign follows very closely behind the "Negro Firsts" campaign of a few months ago, in which the makers of Lucky Strike featured Negroes who are first in achievement in their different fields of endeavor. This campaign was so effective that many Negro students throughout the country saved the advertisements because of their historical value.

This year, however, the makers of Lucky Strike decided to give a little information about their own product since they feel that the American smoking public deserves to know about the quality tobaccos that are used in the making of this product. In the columns of this newspaper you will see advertisements giving factual information about these tobaccos.

'TWAS AND IS NECESSARY

(FROM THE NASHVILLE GLOBE AND INDEPENDENT)

Necessity was the mother of colored newspapers, same as she was of other inventions.

The Lincoln (Mo.) University Clipsheet in commenting upon the publication of the first colored paper, "'Freedom's Journal" in 1827, which came into being to fight for the abolition of slavery, states the following:

"The Afro-Americans were informed more than once by white editors that the white press was the spokesman for white people and that if freed slaves wanted articles published favoring Negroes they must establish newspapers for themselves. As a result, the Negro press today has grown to 155 papers, one of which is a daily.

"The comparison of the Negro press with the white shows that in 122 years, there is no other institution in the development of the Negro race which has made so rapid an advance of that has helped so wholeheartedly in the acceleration of the progress of the Negro as its press.'

This "necessity of having colored papers and the truth of the statement that "the white press is the spokesman for white people" are facts that any careful observer sees demonstrated every day in the year. We observe, for instance the Associated Press account of the Thursday, April 28 baseball game between the Brooklyn Dodgers and the New York Giants, which the Dodgers won 15-2, as it appeared in the Nashville Tennessean the next day.

The news story made heroes out of all of the white players who starred in that game. The paper, however failed to point out that the game was "put on ice" for the Dodgers in the 6th inning when two of the heroes hit homeruns, with two men on base in both cases. One hero was McCormick white, the other was Campanella, colored. McCormick was glorified as a hero, but not a word about Campanella. We knew of Campanella's exploit as a result of having heard a radio account of the game.

Quod erat demonstrandum.

Chicago Defender
MARY McLEOD Bethune
Chicago Ill. Sat. 3-12-49



Sat. 3-12-49

Negro Press Is Greatest Symbol Today Of The Freedom Of Press

LAST week, the Negro press observed the 122nd year of its existence. As I heard the various radio programs and read the many tributes and praises, it occurred to me that our Negro press is the greatest symbol in the world today of freedom of the press.

As we look around the world, we can see many spots in which freedom of the press has become non-existent. State or government control of the press in Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, North Korea, and everywhere that has been drawn behind the iron curtain, has put the people of those areas at the mercy of a handful of power-hungry, unscrupulous men. They have no opportunity to gather facts, evaluate them and formulate their own opinions.

I've tried to imagine, for example, the reporters from an unfettered press asking any questions they may desire to ask at a Stalin press conference in the Kremlin and printing the answers—as may be done at a Truman press conference in the White House. I've tried to imagine, too, the unlimited and unrestricted coverage of the Axis Sally treason trial in Washington being duplicated in the Mindzenty trial in Hungary.

Sat 3-12-49

I've tried to imagine any newspaper in Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, etc., protesting the slowness and duplicity of the Peoples' Committee in dealing with any matter affecting the rights of the people as our Negro press is criticizing Congress in connection with Civil Rights legislation. I've tried, also, to imagine a newspaper in any of those countries criticizing Stalin for referring to someone as a "you-know-what-the-President-said" at the Reserve Officer's dinner, as was done to President Truman. I've tried, but I just couldn't imagine it. Can you?

Sat. 3.12.49

All this freedom of the press in America, is, as I've said, symbolized in the Negro press which was conceived in the womb of protest. Today and throughout its history it has been the mirror reflecting the impurities in the skin of democracy—sometimes a very unpleasant reflection. But can we blame that on the mirror?

Realizing what great significance the Negro press has in the scheme of democracy, I cannot help but hope, of course, that it will never lose sight of the grave responsibility thus placed upon its shoulders. I believe it realizes this responsibility and is more and more leaning toward a combination of protest and a positive approach to world and general domestic affairs with which our destiny, too, is closely tied. I believe it so definitely realizes its responsibility that it will never violate or abuse the freedom of which it is a symbol.

I therefore salute the Negro press and hope that the men who have built it into comparatively big business since John Russworm and Samuel Cornish founded The Freedom Journal in 1827, will themselves continue to keep pace with their growing enterprise and be the big men that a day like this demands.

Scoop

Chicago Defender

Texas State University for Negroes, (R. O'Hara Lanier-prexy) in Houston stole a march on other colored schools and may be 5 years ahead of its time. Howard U. has been turning over the why's and wherefores of calling a University-sponsored conference of the Negro Press for some time. Ditto other schools. On December 12, Texas State went ahead and did it.

It wasn't a conference of all the Negro Press, but 31 Southwest newsmen and public relations experts and educators sat down together in serious discussion. They explored the virgin possibilities of the Negro Press and Negro schools joining hands in getting the Negro mass educated.

Negro colleges have just recently awakened to necessity of hiring, or naming a faculty member as the institution's Public Relations Officer. These PR's, most of them unqualified, have chronic headaches from College Ph.D's who sniff at the Negro Press and a Press that hits back thru its columns. It was apparent at the historic Houston first-talks, that lack of cooperation on both sides has been based on lack of understanding.

As Al Smith, Defender writer brought from Washington to the conference as discussion leader by Lanier and his able PR Constance Daniel, pointed out, the Negro Press appears ready to join hands. After all, every educated Negro is another potential Negro Press reader.

Sat 3-12-49

A.N.P.A. Is Told Of Problems Of Negro Press

New York Herald Tribune
New York New York
Thurs. 4-28-49

Plea for Closer Ties With Other Publishers Is Made by Thomas W. Young

The American Newspaper Publishers Association heard the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association describe its problems and a major purpose for their being is to protest and expose every condition inconsistent with the democratic concepts we all treasure," Mr. Young said.

"A second function of the Negro press is to report the news, good and bad, of peculiar interest to colored persons, much of which is ignored, incompletely recorded, or sometimes distorted by the general press.

"And a third purpose is to inspire the members of this minority group to higher aims and greater deeds, by heralding the accomplishments of Negro individuals, groups and institutions, and by publicizing the good deads of that increasing number of people of good-will, both North and South, who are trying to bring about, frequently against the prevailing current of public opinion, a more just and orderly arrangement of our democratic house."

Mr. Young said that whereas Negro insurance companies do the greatest volume of business and represent the race's largest capital investment, its press is the biggest manufacturing or producing business activity conducted by Negroes.

Thur-4-28-49

Asserting that despite their number and influence the Negro papers suffer from even higher costs of operation than the daily press, Mr. Young asked for closer ties with the A. N. P. A.

"Our belief is that if this closer relationship and exchange could be achieved, the Negro press would be better able not only to fulfill its own mission, but also to make a more worth-while contribution to the maintenance of a free American press and to its wholesome development," he said.

Courier Writer:

'Negro Press Is Watchdog For Liberty'

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh Courier
Sat. 3-12-49

GREENSBORO, N. C.—"The Negro press is a supplimental press," A. M. Rivera, Courier correspondent, declared last week in Harrison auditorium. "It supplements the daily press which covers the news adequately every day," he said.

Speaking at the National Negro Newspaper Week observance program at A. and T. College, Mr. Rivera added: "The daily press deemphasizes the role of the Negro in America. It also de-emphasizes the role of the Jew, Mexican, North European, and Greek, and as a result of this, these racial groups establish newspapers of their own."

PRESS A WATCH DOG

Mr. Rivera, field correspondent for The Pittsburgh Courier, and one of the sixteen authors whose works were selected to appear in the 1947-48 "We The People" compilation, told the audience that the Negro press was a watch dog of liberty, justice, and equality.

Sat-12-49

This, he pointed out, was because all other racial groups are accepted into American life once the language barrier is overcome. With the Negro that is not true.

In concluding his speech he recited the credo of the Negro press, using its conclusion as the end of the speech. He said, "I shall be a crusader and an advocate, a mirror and a record, a herald and a spotlight, and I shall not falter, so help me God."

Papers Ban Certain Ads With Race Label

Chicago Defender
Chicago Ill.
Sat-12-49

CLEVELAND — The three leading dailies have announced that they will no longer accept certain types of advertisements which contain references to race, creed, or national ancestry.

'TAIN'T SO, NEWSMEN RETORT:

Navy Hint That Press Is 'In Bag' Resented

Baltimore Afro-American

WASHINGTON

The intimation that the colored press is "in the bag," made in Department of Defense memorandum issued Friday, has the newsmen of these publications as well as Army public information aides "hot under the collar."

The memorandum, addressed to the Navy, also jibed at the mation of the Navy, as having created a "lack of confidence" in minority group newspapers by its releases. The document specifically paid tribute to Lt. Dennis Nelson, colored Navy public relations officer, for the "confidence" and "reliance" editors of those papers have placed in him.

Inference Denied

Editors and newsmen of the colored press speedily retorted, last week, that neither Lieutenant Nelson of the Navy nor anyone

else has them "in the bag."

They declared that they have no more confidence in material sent out by the Navy than by the Army Air Forces or Marines, as they treat all official Armed Forces material as authentic until proven otherwise, regardless of its source.

There has been no test, these papers' spokesmen say, to determine which agency's public information material is more correct than is any other's.

Navy Pats Self on Back

The memorandum set forth:

"The colored press appears very receptive to Navy material. Colored editors appear to place more reliance in the contents of an official Navy statement than in one issued by the Army."

The statement that has Army and Air Forces PID men aroused to the point of charging the Navy and Lieutenant Nelson with creating dissension is:

"Criticism of the Army's racial relations is bitter. It appears bitter enough to lead editors and columnists to question the good faith of the Army's words. The Navy is in better repute."

Credited to Nelson's Work

The Navy contends that the reasons for "the Navy's good reputation for accuracy, candor and good faith are based on the individual efforts of Lieutenant Nelson. Apparently editors have come to lean on him personally as an accurate and candid source," the memorandum continues.

Fearing that the department may lose this media when it becomes necessary to transfer Lieutenant Nelson elsewhere, five recommendations were made to endeavor to keep the Navy Department in the so-called good graces of the colored press.

Would Keep Good Relations

They are:

1. That recognition be accorded Lieutenant Nelsons contribution to Navy public relations;
2. That plans be made to ensure that the good will and the reputation which Lieutenant Nelson has striven to achieve inure to the benefit of the Navy when he leaves his present tour of duty;
3. That this be achieved by securing the assignment of an outstanding colored officer or civilian with an established reputation among colored press leaders, well in advance of Lieutenant Nelson's transfer; or
4. Use Officer to Sell Pro. Waging an aggressive campaign, through Lieutenant Nelson, to sell the colored press on the good faith and accuracy of the Navy Pro;
5. That steps be taken to ensure that field activities promptly forward to the office of public relations all material that has to do with colored personnel; and
6. That queries from the colored press be answered truthfully or not at all.

Press Clipping Show Attitude

Evidence of the esteem colored editors are alleged to have for Lieutenant Nelson were gleaned, according to the memorandum, from a study of Navy-related clippings of articles and comment appearing in these publications during the past six months.

The publishers of the "Negro Press," as termed by the Navy study, are obviously closely associated, for the contents of their various papers are "remarkably similar" and in general follow a standard pattern, it was stated.

The memorandum went on to say that "colored newspapers are not news competitors with the white press.

"They are not seeking hot news, and seldom use wire service facilities," it pointed out, adding, "news to them, means items which demonstrate the advancement of members of their race."



Afro-American Baltimore Md. Sept 7-1946

By James L. Hicks

To the members of the working press, press agents are just like women—you can't get along with them and you can't very well make it without them. Newsmen can't get along with them because newsmen are supposed to tell the truth and let the chips fall where they may.

On the other hand, press agents, working in the interest of their "clients," are committed to tell the truth only when they are sure that when the chips start falling they are not going to fall on the heads of their clients.

Both Have Aims

The press agents wants to get the name of his client in the papers in a favorable light. The newsman wants to to put the client's name in the paper but he wants to tell both the good and bad side of the client's story.

The net result is that the newsman and the press agent go arm-in-arming around together with the press agent trying to sell the newsman a half truth and the newsman trying to wring the whole truth from him—and both of them silently wishing that the other would suddenly drop dead.

The public relations business is gradually taking its place in the sun among colored people. Last week at Philadelphia, a group of public relations men held a national conference to organize and draw up a code of ethics for their craft.

In order that you may be better informed of characters, who are sometimes able to convince the best of newsmen that black is really not black, here are a few thumbnail sketches of the more prominent ones around the East Coast.

Joseph V. Baker of Philadelphia, is conceded to be tops among our public relations men. A long time Republican, he has "connections" which open the door to him for the more lucrative accounts and he knows how to handle them when he gets them.

Organizational P.R.'s

Henry Lee Moon's job is to convince newsmen that everything is going along smoothly inside the NAACP and that Walter White is still a knight in shining armor, who goes out each day and single-handedly strangles a dragon called jim crow.

Guichard Parris of the Urban League's job is the same as that of Moon's, only in his case the knight on the horse is Lester Granger and the dragon Granger slays every day is "discrimination in employment." Both Henry and Guichard at times are guilty of showing favoritism to the white press.

Ernie Johnson, John Silvera and Major Robinson represent the class of PR men who handle accounts of "private agencies" as against Moon and Parris representing "instiutional agencies." These three are tops in the PR field in this type of work.

Ernie is an ex-newsman who makes use of the wide contacts he made while pounding the bricks. He goes for the more conservative accounts and handles accounts in Los Angeles with the efficiency as he does in New York.

John Silvera is the former Air Force officer who was PR for Colonel Ben Davis Jr., and who made B. O. feel he was general while he was still a colonel. He is handsome, has a way with the women, and recently has done such a good job of perfuming the stink in the AME Church that the boys around Harlem nicknamed him "Bishop."

Theatrical Press Agent

Major Robinson is a press agent of the theatrical world. Louis Jordan is his "patron saint" but he keeps a host of other names in the papers each week through his contacts with the working press.

Neil Scott, husband of Carol Brice, the singer, will never win a popularity contest in Harlem, but the people downtown seem to think a lot of him as evidenced by his account with Columbia Pictures and others.

Moss Kendrix of Washington, D.C., now with the National Education Association: His job on the Liberian Centennial was one of the best yet turned in by a public relation man.

He's doing the same kind of job with the NEA, but this time he's getting credit. If Moss would write a book on the Liberian Centennial there would be an exodus from Dee Cee led by the Liberian minister himself.

Lt. Dennis Nelson, U.S. Navy, can almost convince you that the Navy does not discriminate against colored people despite the fact that it only has about three colored officers. Sat-3-19-49

Lt. Tommy Martin of the Army Department simply tells newsmen what the Army said and then clams up.

Lt. Willard (Chip) Savoy, Air Forces, will call a spade a spade even if it hurts Chip.

Beverly Carter, Philadelphia, is one of the best.

Ludlow Werner, Werner Associates of New York, is smooth, diplomatic, and has all the earmarks of a public relations director.

Otto McClarrin, Howard University, versatile and able. His biggest headache is ironing out Dr. Mordecai Johnson's faux pas's.

[redacted] Evans is press agent for [redacted]e. Nice guy with a job [redacted]

ROVING with REVELLA

Afro-American Baltimore Md.

By REVELLA CLAY

The Press Steps Out

The fourth estate itself came in on the better side of the week when the Capital Press Club was entertained so royally by Art Waller at the Dunbar Hotel dining room last Friday.

In adition to a delicious lunch, served by the hostelry, the press club was entertained by Roi Ottley, author of "New World A-Comin'" and "Black Odyssey."

Ottley, here gathering info about the colored man in the Federal Government, waxed a bit eloquent on the the theme that the black press does not build up its own authors and poets and suggested that it is high time it did so.

He probably would have been mooted by local newshawks if there had been any inkling circulating about that Winchell news tip Sunday which stated that Ottley is being considered for the post of White House aide.

Partaking in the luncheon, whose hilarity was further increased by some small samples which Jerry Rhea, Seagram's salesman, passed out were:

Al Smith, Ralph Matthews, Alice Dunnigan, Lem Graves, Oscar Haynes, Lt. Tommy Martin, Arthur Davis of Howard University, Jimmy Baker, Al Sweeney, Otto McClarrin, Al Dunmore, Roy Garvin, Jimmy Portee, Al Lockhart, E. D. Kohleman, all of the AA; Henry S. Parker of the U.S. Air Force,—now learining about the ins and outs of the newspaper business under the guidance of Ralph Matthews, AFRO editor—Otis Von Blasingame, Al Dunmore, Wendy Wallace, Robert Taylor, Rick Roberts, Lt. Chip Savoy . . . . .

Those Negroes who need Paul Robeson are siding with a man who counsels against participating in the nation's security. He has allowed himself to be so carried away that he is preaching a doctrine of treason. His comment knows that the Kremlin offers him no more than does the Ku Klux Klan.

The Negro who stops to think knows that he should take note of the press comment of his people's newspapers and admit the error of his ways.

The Negro Press And Paul Robeson

Journal Guide Norfolk Va. 3-1

From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

A survey made by the Christian Science Monitor of the leading Negro newspapers in the United States reveals that they vigorously disagree with Singer Paul Robeson's declaration in Paris that American Negroes would never fight against Russia if war came.

Sat. 6-11-49

Since the Negro Press is waging a major battle for equality for the colored man, it would have been regrettable but under-

Negro (Pittsburgh Courier)

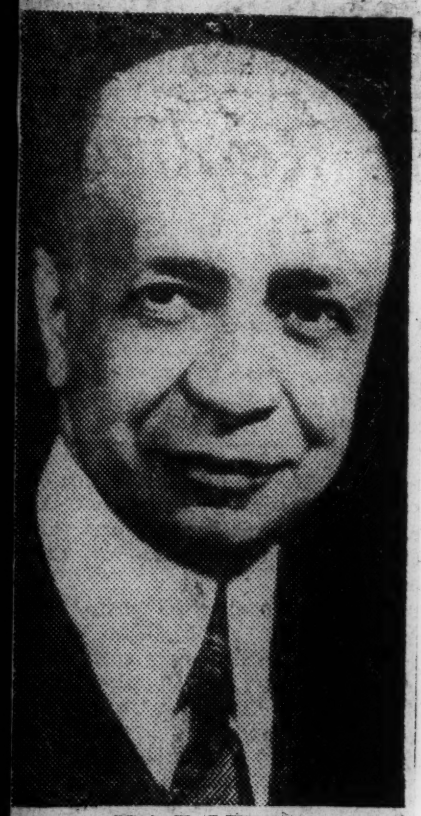
Died One Year Ago

Memorial Service Held For Ex-Head of Courier

Courier Dat. 9-3-49

31 Negro (Pittsburgh Courier)

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—A simple, but impressive memorial service, according to the Episcopalian Liturgy, was held Sunday at Holy Cross Episcopal Church for the late Ira F. Lewis, former president of The Pittsburgh Courier and vestryman of the church, who died Aug. 28, 1948.



IRA F. LEWIS

. . . Memorial rites held

The Rev. Samuel D. Rudder, rector of Holy Cross, officiated at the service, which was attended by Mrs. Ira F. Lewis, widow of the deceased; Mrs.. Jayne Lewis Woodson, daughter; a large number of friends, former conferees and coworkers and members of the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity of which the late Mr. Lewis was also a member.

Within the liturgy, the impeccable life of the deceased and contributions made by him to the business and civic life of the community and nation were lauded in the commemoration.

TYPICAL EXAMPLE

Mr. Lewis was a typical example of the Horatio Alger story—that of the boy from the small town who came to the city and made good. He was born in North Carolina and finally settled in Pittsburgh, where he eventually became the right-hand man of the late Robert L. Vann, distinguished publisher, lawyer and statesman, who made The Pittsburgh Courier "America's Best Weekly."

The two men worked as a team until Mr. Vann's death. Then, Mr. Lewis was elected president of the company, in which capacity he ably served until his death.

Tribune Editor, Publisher Marry

LOS ANGELES—(ANP)—Miss Almena Davis, editor of the Los Angeles Tribune, and Lucius W. Lomax, Jr., publisher of the Tribune, were married last week in simple ceremonies at the home of their pastor, the Rev. Harold M. Kingsley.

Miss Miriam Geiger, a columnist on the newspaper, accompanied the couple. The bride wore a powder blue suit with brown accessories, and the bridegroom, a blue business suit.

Lomax was recently divorced from his first wife in a divorce case in which Miss Davis was named as being the mother of two children by him. Miss Davis achieved fame as a Wendell Wilkie award winner in 1946.

The newlyweds spent the past week as usual on the job at the Tribune office.

A RAW DEAL

The Southern Democrats and the Republicans, by joining hands, heads and hearts, have managed to give Mr. Truman's Square Deal, a very Raw Deal. This coalition has already wrecked the Civil Rights program for this session of Congress and is diligently at work on the low-cost housing, health and minimum wage projects. There is a very real danger that they shall succeed in so amending those measures which they dare not frontally attack, that only the illusion of social advance shall remain.

Yet it must be clear that the Republican Party, at least cannot survive an unlimited number of such victories The American people are waking up to the fact that the policies of the Republicans and the Southern Democrats have managed to survive defeat at the polls, through their adulterous relationship in the Congress. This widespread knowledge must eventually break the Republican party, for it is unthinkable that either Labor or the Negro can continue to vote with Republicans in the face of the hostile program which that party follows in the Congress.

Yet, there remains one device by which the Republicans can hope to escape the consequences of their illicit love affair with the Dixiecrats. For some time, there has been evidence that the Republicans are not unaware of the fact, that by using their influence upon American foreign policy, they may be able to see their program triumph without winning a free election.

By now, Mr. Truman should be aware of the fact that the present foreign policy is ultimately incompatible with social progress within the United States. He should have begun to wonder when those men who oppose every phase of the Fair Deal at home, become his fanatic supporters when it comes to foreign policy. Both the President and the American people should beware of the prosition that the wreckers at home are constructive abroad.

Rather it is obvious that the growing military budget and related expenditures must eventually delimit the funds available for implementing low-cost housing, health and educational projects. The resources of the United Stats are not infinite.

But even more dangerous to the cause of social progress in the United States, is the tension between this country and Soviet Russia mounts, there is an ever bolder disposition to use this tension as an excuse for breaking strikes and for hunting down liberals as "communist" sympathizers. Should the present situation continue to develop along this line, it is obvious that Labor would lose its hard-earned rights, and free speech would be dearly bought by those who did not wholeheartedly agree with the most conservative opinion in the country.

Youngest Editor Will Go To Omaha Guide

OMAHA, Neb.—Clyde D. Jackson, 21, becomes editor of the Omaha Guide November 1, and will have the distinction of being the youngest editor of a Negro newspaper. Jackson has worked with the Chicago Defender.

On The Commercial Appeal To Get Urban League Awards

Announcement of the award of Certificates of Merit to two members of The Commercial Appeal's staff in recognition of their efforts in behalf of inter-racial co-operation and understanding in Memphis was made yesterday by the Memphis Urban League, Inc., an organization for social service among negroes.

The two recipients are Frank Ahlgren, editor of The Commercial Appeal, and Jack Carley, one of the newspaper's editorial writers. The awards will be testimonial scrolls, printed on parchment, which will be formally presented at a public ceremony in the auditorium of Booker T. Washington High School on the night of June 10.

Similar awards will be presented at the same time to J. G. Coughlin, editor of the West Memphis News, and L. O. Swingler, editor of The Memphis World, a negro newspaper published at 386 Beale.

Agency Of Chest

The Memphis Urban League, affiliated with the National Urban League which operates throughout most of the United States, is a member agency of the Memphis Community Chest. Its office is at 546 Beale.

It is an inter-racial organization, in which both whites and negroes are represented. Chairman of its Executive Board is Dr. Peter Cooper, professor of sociology at LeMoyne College, and other white board members include Edward Dalstrom, wholesale paper dealer, and Mrs. Robert McKee, wife of the director of Goodwill Industries, a social service organization. Rev. J. A. McDaniel, a Georgia-born and Alabama-educated negro minister who is pastor of Bethel Presbyterian Church, 1060 Mississippi, is executive secretary.

The local group is an outgrowth of the Community Welfare League, organized here in 1932, whose name was changed to the Memphis Urban League at the time of its affiliation with the National Urban League in 1943.

Chairman of the first Executive Board which set up the local organization 17 years ago was David A. Levy, and other white members of the board were Dr. Louis Levy, Mrs. Willis C. Campbell, Dr. Frank Sweeney (then president of LeMoyne College), Lee Winchester, J. A. Riechman and Mr. Dalstrom. First local president was Dr. J. E. Walker, president of the Universal Life Insurance Co., 234 Hernando.

Membership Of 1200

The Memphis Urban League, in a booklet explaining its purposes, describes itself as a community service organization that specializes in the field of race relations. It carries on educational and promotional programs, designed to improve the conditions under which negroes live and work. It counsels with white employers on job opportunities for negroes, promotes programs of vocational guidance and seeks to improve the standards of health, housing, recreation and welfare work among negroes.

In Memphis, the league has a membership of approximately 1200, of whom 90 per cent are negroes, Rev. McDaniel said. Prominent among its negro leaders, in addition to Dr. Walker, are M. W. Bonner, insurance executive; Prof. Blair T. Hunt, principal of Booker T. Washington High School, and J. A. Beauchamp, executive of the Seminole Division, 173 South Third, of the Boy Scouts of America.

The Certificate of Merit awarded Mr. Ahlgren states he was chosen for the honor for his "outstanding service in the promotion of co-operation and understanding between the races and for the promotion of civic, health and education projects and programs affecting the Negro citizens in the metropolitan area of Memphis, Tenn."

The certificate awarded to Mr. Carley is for "outstanding service in the field of journalism through his editorials, progressively supporting the civic interest and rights of Negro citizens of Memphis and Shelby County which led to the approval and appointment of Negro police officers."

Mr. Coughlin's certificate is "for outstanding service in the promotion of co-operation and understanding between the races and in a crusade for equal opportunities for Negroes in education in West Memphis, Crittenden County, Arkansas."

Editor Swingler's citation is "for outstanding service in the promotion of co-operation and understanding between the races and for the promotion of civic, health and education projects and programs affecting the Negro citizens in the metropolitan area of Memphis, Tenn."

The parchment scrolls will be signed by Dr. Cooper, as chairman of the Memphis Urban League's Executive Board, and Rev. McDaniel, as its executive secretary. The Memphis American Legion Post No. 1 awarded him its Dr. James S. Bodley Trophy for long and continuing work on behalf of Americanism.

Mr. Carley has been a visiting instructor at the Federal Bureau of Investigation's National Academy at Washington since 1942. He is a 33rd Degree Scottish Rite Mason and a member of the Memphis and Shelby County Port and Harbor Commission.

This will mark the first time that the Memphis Urban League has made such awards, although similar awards have been made in other cities.

31 1949

White Press(Constitution)

Editors Hear Warning Of 'Muzzled' Press

By STILES A. MARTIN
State News Editor

SAVANNAH—In a day crowded with activity yesterday, Georgia editors were warned against the danger of the American press being "muzzled" and the threat of Communism if the free enterprise system is not continued.

A Negro leader also made a plea for better race relations and co-operation between the white and Negro races at the annual convention of the Georgia Press Association being held here.

Speaking on the subject, "The Press, the Moral Watchman of the Nation," at the luncheon at which the Savannah Morning News and Evening Press were hosts, publisher Herschel Jenkins, as toastmaster, the Rev. J. Frederick Wilson, professor of history and Bible at Emory Junior College, Valdosta, declared:

"The business of the press is to keep America from going to sleep at the point of moral responsibility. The same enemies that we fought in Germany in World War II, theaten the life of our nation now. These 'enemies' included class privilege: race hatred; free love; government interference with private affairs."

Pointing out the value of industrialism and the great record the railroads had made in the development of America, Marion J. Wise, President of the Central of Georgia Railroad, also at the luncheon meeting, sounded a serious warning of the danger of Communism in this country.

He stated briefly the vast number of industries located along the lines of the Centrad railroad, pointing how each is dependent upon the other for existence. He also gave a stiff warning on Communism.

Later at the evening dinner—meeting sponsored by the Union Bag and Paper Company, Savannah unit, Donald J. Hardenbrook, Vice President of that firm, in a plea for the continuance of "free enterprise" and warning of the "disastrous consequences" of socialized medicine, asked: "if medicine is socialized who would be the next logical victim? If Lenine considered medicine as the keystone to the arch of the socialistic state, is it not conceivable that a controlled press would be the arch—thus giving a dictator a bereaucratic grip on the body and mind of the people?"

By a special request from Albany, Dr. Joseph W. Holley, President-emeritus of the Albany State Negro college which he founded more than 50 yars ago, also appeared on the luncheon program and gave a speech that held the attention of the 300 editors present.

He was introduced by Pres. June Norwood, of GPA, who stated that he had received a request that Holley be permitted to address the editors.

He also warned of the danger of Communism, saying "a hungry wolf is dangerous, and so is a hunrgy man." In pointing out that three quarters of a million Negro people living in small towns and country districts in Georgia and among them "there is not one Negro doctor, dentist, druggist, nor registered nurse," Communism thrives on such conditions," he said, stating that the Southern Negro "will never turn to Communism." There is not a more loyal group anywhere than the Negro."

Stating that the press could help improve the Negro's situation, Dr. Holley pointed to the press as having "made" Booker T. Washington.—" At the suggestion of Clark Howell of The Atlanta Constitution, Washington was invited to speak in Atlanta at the Coton States Exposition in 1893. He was enthusiastically received, his speech was well received over the nation, the papers giving it much publicity, and there and then began his successful career, followed by that of Dr. Carver."

Dr. Holley advocates the development of the Negro race as an individual race without merging it with other races. He says the schools and colleges should be kept separated for each race, but that Negroes should be given better educational advantages to help him make a living.

This was the first time in the 63 years history of the Georgia Press Association that a Negro had appeared before it as a speaker.

31 1949

White (Constitution)

Negro Students Taking Advantage of Trip Offer

By FRANK MAJORS

Determined efforts on the part of the majority of their students is going to pay off handsomely for a number of Georgia Negro schools entered in The Atlanta Constitution's $100,000 Class Trip Campaign.

With entries from every section of the State, and particularly heavy in the Atlanta area, the Negro students are among the hardest workers anywhere in signing up new one-year subscribers for the newspaper.

Showing an unselfish attitude toward helping add facilities to the institutions they attend, the students are, in the main, interested in providing needed athletic, music, home economics, and other types equipment.

That they intend reaching their goals and exceeding them is evident in the consistently large number of signed orders which each school is reporting periodically.

The campaign is still open to any school class which would like to join in this simple plan for raising needed funds for their group projects.

Yesterday nine classes from a single Negro school, Booker T. Washington, of Atlanta, posted their entries. C. W. Cornell, as Principal, and O. White, as Circulation Manager, signed each entry. The grades with their class officers when given, are:

Twelfth Low-4, William Alliam, President.

Eighth Low-9, Ruth Zachary President.

Eighth Low-3.

Ninth Low-10, James Wimbush, President.

Eighth High-5, Mary Meacham, President.

Tenth Low-14, Edward Small, President.

Home room, Ninth Low-6, Leon Davis, President.

Eighth Low-19, Jacqueline Burke, President.

Health, Eighth Low-20, Lula Belle Murray, President.

White (General)

Daily Worker Prints Edition For Harlem

NEW YORK — A new tabloid weekly publication, "The Harlem Edition of the Worker," published especially for Harlem readers, hit the newsstands uptown here last Friday.

The new weekly is edited by Abner Berry, a member of the Communist daily, the Daily Worker's editorial board which will publish it. Four pages of the 32-page tabloid will be devoted to local news of Harlem. The remaining 28, including a magazine section, will be edited in "The Daily Worker's" downtown offices.

N.Y. Professor Defends Race Tags In Daily Press

CHICAGO — Chiding the New York Times and the Chicago Daily News for their policy of omitting mention of race in certain news stories, Syracuse University Prof, Roland E, Wolseley, charges in June Negro Digest that the editorial practise of these two newspapers is just unfair in its policy of favoritism towards Negroes as the editors of other newspapers are unfair in playing up Negroes in crime stories.

"Newspapers traditionally note the fact that the criminal is a Negro," says Professor Wolseley in the Negro Digest article entitled "Should Race Tags Be Dropped In The U. S. Press." It is not wrong to say that a Negro is a Negro, whether he does right or wrong."

In view of the unfair press ridicule and discredit the nation's Dailies have previously given the Negro, Professor Wolseley insists that the Negro does need fair treatment in the press. For this reason, the writer continues, certainly as Negroes are the source of creditable news, they should be properly identified. But playing up the evil Negroes and playing up the good they do is also inaccurate and unfair editorial treatment.

"The journalist should only mention race wherever it is pertinent. And he should not mention race where it is not important "Wolseley declares. He adds:

"There is no slide rule an editor can use when he needs to solve the problem of racial identity. The Negro should not expect special protection, he is entitled to honest reports whether he does good or bad."

White (Ralph McGill)



RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

22 Cents Of Your Dollar

Atlanta, Ga.

Sun. 6-26-49

Recently two able economists at Duke University announced the results of two years intensive study of the South.

Almost immediately a few pipsqueaks, who knew more in ten minutes than two Southern economists in two years, were trying to pick it to pieces. That's good. It provides discussion.

The report stands up very well. Basically, it adds up to this: The South, generally, suffers more and longer, in hard times than other sections of the nation and therefore has more of a stake in the policies of government and business which have for their purpose the promotion of the economic welfare of the remainder of the United States.

And it plainly asks for retirement of the War Between the States as an excuse for present-day lacks.

Sun. 6-26-49

Meaning The essential problem is to increase the South's per person income. The job is to improve the South's poor "terms of trade." They explain that as follows:

"Historically, the South has produced bulk agricultural commodities embodying much manual labor and has manufactured commodities which also embody much labor. Until quite recently these commodities were sold under market conditions approximating those of free competition except as our tariff limited the international market for those goods. The commodities which the South purchased, by contrast, were generally produced and sold under conditions of monopolistic competition characterized by 'administered prices'."

Due to these disadvantageous "terms of trade" and its higher birth rate, the South in times of depression is hit harder and its potential labor supply "backs up" in rural areas to an extent not shown in statistics.

Plans The report suggests, chiefly, these policies:

1. Encouragement of more potential defense plants in the South to take advantage of climate and labor supply and to disperse vital plants as a safeguard against possible enemy atomic attack.

2. Provision of financial aid for research centers and graduate technical schools. And possibly provide funds, or loans, for development of natural resources if sufficient capital is not obtainable from private sources.

Sun. 6-26-49

3. Extend deposit insurance to cover 100 percent of all deposits. The report says that the present $5,000 limitation on deposit insurance means that many companies and individuals in the South move much of their funds outside the South.

4. Have the Treasury Department carefully note any future regional flow of funds and move Treasury deposits to counteract any pronounced tendency for funds to leave any one region.

5. Raise the personal exemptions for income tax to afford a somewhat higher standard of living among low income groups.

6. As a follow-up to No. 3, formulate a long-range program for development of mineral resources of the region.

7. Double Social Security Act Federal payments for old-age assistance and aid to dependent children.

8. Provide Federal Aid to public education.

9. Establish a minimum wage possibly between 60 to 75 cents an hour, but make it flexible enough to enable downward adjustments in the event of drastic price declines.

All of that makes sense. There is an argument about freight rates, as yet, but even so the weight of the argument is with the economists, who do not throw it out but who refuse to classify it as being any longer of real importance.

It is an excellent report. Let the arguments go on. They will prove helpful.

Colorado Springs I used this as a preamble to the little story at Colorado Springs where the Governors of the nation refuse to ask for any cut in Federal spending to the States.

There was even a flurry by the poorer ones to have this aid to States dispensed on a non-matching basis so that the poorer ones could get more than the others. This has some basis of argument, if aid to the States is to be determined by need. But, certainly there was no sign there that anyone wanted to invoke the theory of States' rights on a basis of rugged individualism. The Oliver Twist Bowl was dominant.

All this, it seems to me, sustains the report from Duke University.

Income Let's take something else. I will ask the professional Dixiecrats to make answer on it. It is this:

Government money, including payments to farmers, makes up about 22 per cent of the South's total income.

Shall we, in the name of States' rights, demand an end to all payments? Shall each State in the Mississippi Valley seek to combat floods with its own powers? The farmers of the South—the average farmers—get almost half their income from Federal payments. Do they wish to make themselves safe from a centralized Government's grasp and depend on their own States? Or, is the problem of a national farm economy and that of rivers which flood many States a matter that only a Federal Government can handle?

Sense Obviously, we cannot invite the Federal Government in to help us with roads and farms and floods and then get angry because it wants to save a citizen from lynching or to make sure he is allowed to vote.

Shall we keep the Government out of soil conservation when 97,000,000 of the nation's 150,000,000 badly eroded acres lie in the South?

It is time we all did our best to come up to the lick log, to drop all our old excuses for failure to meet the situation, and to do all we can to enable the South and its people to have an income and an education as good as that enjoyed in other regions.

The report made sense.

Ballot Is Basic Civil Right, McGill Writes in Atlantic

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution

Ralph McGill, Editor of The Constitution, once again is featured in a national magazine with publication in the November issue of The Atlantic of an article he has authored on "Civil Rights for the Negro."

A special cover band on the outside of the magazine calls attention to McGill's story, and the magazine's comment at the beginning of his article describes The Constitution editor as being "known throughout the South for his fighting heart, for the integrity of his editorial page, and for his two-fisted editorial approach to any bothersome problem below Mason and Dixon's line."

In his article, McGill declares "the fight for civil rights should be concentrated on one phase of the problem—that of voting," and terms the right to vote as "the basic civil right." All the others are a part of its mosiac structure, he says.

Wed.

McGill points out the poll tax is disappearing and the U. S. Supreme Court has abolished the white primary as a barrier aginst Negro voting.

10-26-49

The editor cites a 600 percent increase in Negro voting in the South in 1948 over 1940 and points to the competition for the Negro vote by Southern politicians.

"When sheriffs, county commissioners, mayors and governors compete for votes and seek new votes from the increasing total of Negro voters, then indeed will they begin to do what some so grantly fail to do—prevent violence and lynchings," McGill asserts.

There is not much real opposition in the South to poll tax and anti-lynching legislation, the editor says, but he is critical of FEPC legislation, declaring that "we do not regard it as a field where fiat will replace the admittedly slower process of education and attempts by the people of both races to conciliate."

The Klan, he says, "is finished, although its philosophy and methods will endure here and there in the old plantation counties where cotton and timber is poor, and a few men control the politics."

Ralph McGill Urges Dixie Wake Up To Rights For Race

By RAMONA LOWE

(Florida Defender Bureau)

MIAMI, Fla.—Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, in a stirring commencement address to the 704 white graduates of the University of Miami, declared "The old political structure of the South is beginning to fall apart . . . The Negro vote in the South this year is 600 percent larger than it was in 1940. In the elections last Fall there were some 700,000 qualified Negro votes in the states of the old Confederacy. Four years hence there will be at least 2,000,000.

"Is the South going to be so bound by its own mores that it is going to let those votes go by default to politicians with Soviet backgrounds, such as the Wallace party had and has? Is it going to let that vote go to the corruptionists?

The Defender

"Is the Dixiecrat mentality, which piously and with great hypocrisy parades itself as the states rights party but means by that it wishes to retain states worngs, going to be able to persuade the South that it must exclude the Negro vote from any southern political party and let it go to those who will take it and make of it a balance of power to attain their own political ends? Are we going to be that stupid and blind?"

Anti-Lynch Law Needed

Earlier in his speech he referred to the Georgia lynching using it to point out the need for anti-lynching legislation. "Can we argue," he said, "that when a state fails to do its duty, the federal government does not have an interest in protecting the lives of the citizens? This time it may be a poor, obscure Negro. If such lawlessness is unchecked, the next time it may be you or me—next time it may be a sharecropper's shack that is burned down—it may be your home or this university and your library or mine. We can't ignore facts.

"The poll tax should not exist as a pre-requisite to voting and as such must go and is going.

"I see no valid objection to an FEPC which would operate under the department of labor and would have the power to hold hearings, to conciliate, recommend and arbitrate. The South, as it sees its agricultural economy changing and industry coming surely is not so blind it fails to see that the industrialization will not be a complete regional success until the Negro is integrated into it, using what skills he has on equal terms and wages."

Chicago

He also scored the Klan which he described as attracting "second and third rate persons."

This was the largest class ever to be graduated from the University of Miami. It was made up largely of veterans.

Disrespectful Dixie Dailies Boycotted

The Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

MOBILE, Ala.—Despite the indifference of large numbers of Negroes, including some members of the professions and a large number of school teachers, added impetus was given the "reading holiday" disrespect campaign against major Negro policies of certain daily newspapers when ministers here voted to discontinue to publish Negro church and school columns in Mobile papers. Sat. 1-15-49

The ministers, who over period of several years have sought a rectification of the policies of the Mobile Press-Register in the treatment of news dealing with colored people, voted recently to issue a press release on their actions.

The release stated: "Since repeated efforts over a period of seven or eight years have been made to the Mobile Press with the hope of having it change its policy as to terms of respect toward Negroes; and since it has failed to sustain this hope; even in line with other Southern daily newspapers, it was unanimously voted to discontinue the columns (church and school)."

SOUGHT "MR."; "MRS."

Sat. 1-15-49

The ministers acted through their Interdenominational Ministers Alliance. The step taken by the clergymen co-ordinated the campaign to have certain white dailies to prefix titles of "Mrs. and Miss" to the names of Negro women in straight news stories and special Negro columns, and to cease vicious anti-Negro editorial policies on civil rights and other such questions.

A citizens' committee representing a cross-section of the Negro population voted several weeks ago that they, as individuals, would refuse to subscribe for any daily newspaper which refused to treat news about Negroes as the paper treated news about whites.

PUBLISHER DEFIANT

Publisher R. B. Chandler of the Mobile Press and the Mobile Register, defiantly declared in the columns of his papers that there would be no change of policies in the matter of Negro news. He indicated his papers would refuse to prefix titles of "Mrs. and Miss" to the names of Negro women, and would not change their editorial slants on the civil rights question.

Several hundred Negroes in Mobile are said to be purchasing dailies of other cities, preferably the Birmingham papers, and are relying strongly on their Negro newspapers. 1-15-49

31 1949

White (The New York Star--P M)

Liberal Newspaper Bows Out For Good

NEW YORK—(CNS)—The New York Star, which was once known as PM, and under both names one of New York's leading crusading newspapers, especially for the rights of Negroes, bowed out officially on January 28th—the date of its last issue. As PM it had been heavily subsidized by multi-millionaire Marshall Field who tried it as an experiment—a newspaper without advertising. When still not able to move out of the red, Field abandoned the no-advertising program and its editor, Ralph Ingersoll who felt a newspaper could not be wholly free to say as it pleased unless it was not dependent upon its advertising revenues. But even with advertising, the paper failed to show a revenue. New backers were scouted for and they were found in veteran newspapermen Bartley Crum and Joseph Barnes. They tried a face-lifting job, changed the name, but sincerely felt that a really liberal morning newspaper in highly competitive New York could survive. Only after several months, they too had to quit.

31 1949

White (Press-Register)

Ala. Pastors Tell Why C Column Was Stopped

MOBILE, Ala. —A committee of nine members, appointed by the Interdenominational Ministers' Alliance to tell the public why it discontinued the colored church and school column in the Mobile Press-Register, said last week:

"The Alliance voted unanimously to discontinue the column because the Press-Register refused to change its policy of not using terms (Miss and Mrs. particularly) of respect in printing the names and titles of colored people in the news, as is done by other Southern daily newspapers."

Snub Dixie Papers Over Race Policy

MOBILE, Ala.—Despite indifference of large numbers of Negroes, added impetus was given the "reading holiday" self-respect campaign against policies of certain daily newspapers when ministers here voted to discontinue Negro church and school columns in Mobile papers.

The ministers, who over a period of several years have sought a change in the policies of the Mobile Press-Register in the treatment of news dealing with colored people recently issued a press release on their actions.

The release stated: "Since repeated efforts over a period of seven or eight years have been made to the Mobile Press with the hope of having it change its policy as to terms of respect toward Negroes; and since it has failed to sustain this hope; even in line with other Southern daily newspapers, it was unanimously voted to discontinue the columns (churches and schools)."

The ministers acted through their Interdenominational Ministers Alliance. The step taken by the clergymen co-ordinated the campaign to have certain white dailies to prefix titles of "Mr. and Miss" to the names of Negro women in straight news stories and special Negro columns, and to cease vicious anti-Negro editorial policies on civil rights and other such questions.

A citizens' committee representing a cross-section of the Negro population voted several weeks ago that they, as individuals, would refuse to subscribe for any daily newspaper which refused to treat news about Negroes as the paper treated news about whites.

Publisher R. B. Chandler of the Mobile Press and the Mobile Register, declared in his papers that there would be no change of policies in the matter of Negro news.

Edward T. Leech, Senior Editor In Scripps-Howard Chain, Dies

Pittsburgh, Dec. 11 (AP)—Edward T. Leech, crusading senior editor of the Scripps-Howard newspapers, died here today after a brief illness. He was 57.

Leech, editor and president of The Pittsburgh Press, entered a hospital Wednesday. He underwent an emergency abdominal operation Friday.

The son of a U. S. Mint official, Leech was born in Denver in 1892. He began his newspaper career at 20 with The Denver Express, owned by the Scripps-McCrae chain that later became Scripps-Howard. At 23 he was editor of the newspaper.

Fought Crump Machine

His rise was meteoric. He became editor of The Memphis Press and gained national attention for his fight against the Ed Crump political machine. During the crusade he was sentenced to 10 days in jail for contempt of court. His release brought on a city-wide celebration.

He again went to jail for contempt during his battle against the Ku Klux Klan while editor of The Birmingham Post that he helped found for Scripps-Howard.

He returned to Denver in 1926 as editor of The Rocky Mountain News. His experiences furnished much of the material of Gene Fowler's "Timberline." He moved to The Pittsburgh Press in 1931, spearheading campaigns for flood control, smoke control, stream purification, and urban development.

He is survived by his wife, two daughters, and two sons.

31 1949 Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel



CONGRATULATED ON APPOINTMENT—Greensboro, N. C.—Writer A. A. Morisey is congratulated on his recent appointment to the Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel following the program in the Bennett College chapel honoring him on his achievement. Sponsored by the staff of the student publication, "The Bennett Banner," for which he served as adviser during his three years of employment at the college as publicity director, the scribe was hailed as a "man of the people." Shown chatting with the writer are, left to right, Miss Nola Bewley, circulation manager, who spoke on behalf of the staff, and Dr. Willa B. Player.

Associated Publishers Directors Meet In New York



The board of directors and employed officers of Associated Publishers, Inc., national advertising representatives for a large number of newspapers including the Journal and Guide, met Oct. 26 at the Hotel Roosevelt, New York City. Seated, left to right are: Thomas W. Young (Journal and Guide, Norfolk) secretary; D. Arnett Murphy (Afro American Newspapers) president; Carl Murphy (Afro American Newspapers) chairman of the board. Standing left to right: Richard T. Greene, business manager; Frank L. Stanley (Louisville Defender); Carter Wesley (The Informer Newspapers); Harry D. Evans, sales manager.

Joseph D. Bibb

AMERICA'S FINE, BUT—

Winchell Is Wrong if He Feels That Colored Americans Should Not Oppose Inequalities

Courier Sat. 9-24-49 Pittsburgh, Pa.

By JOSEPH D. BIBB

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

AFTER lambasting Paul Robeson on Sunday night, Walter Winchell dropped a word of advice to colored Americans. The upshot of his mercurial declamation was that America is just about the best place on earth for the members of Robeson's race. Winchell is perhaps correct. His view is concurred in by most of the keen and smart observers. But the United States is no ideal Republic.



Mr. Bibb

It is no Utopia. Winchell, himself, is ever alert to protect the interests of his own people, the Jews. He is eminently just on that score, but if he opines that colored Americans should be lulled into false security, if he feels that they should not agitate and organize against inequalities and social stigmatizing, then he is just as wrong as he was when he stated that, "next to the atomic bomb, Gromyko fears me more than any other force."

Gromyko fears the entrenched power of the capitalistic system. Winchell is a powerful voice against communism, but he does not wave any magic wand over the American people. Certainly not the colored citizens who are not at all content with their unhappy status. There are colored American war veterans who are embittered over their despicable lot, but none have demonstrated against free speech and public assembly as did the Jewish war veterans in protest against Robeson at Peekskill. Winchell passed over that point with jet-propelled speed.

• • •

COLORED AMERICANS MAY be better housed and fuller fed than most of the people in Europe and Asia. They may have more individual liberty than the followers of Uncle Joe Stalin, but whoever advises them to be meek and humble forgets the tyrannies of the home sod, and does not advise either wisely or well.

Public figures, other than Winchell, have hinted that members of America's darker minority, who are not content and satisfied with conditions and opportunities in the United States, should pack up and leave. But we witness no other minorities pulling up stakes and bidding farewell.

To the contrary, they, fired by Winchell's whip-lashing voice, are picketing and parading. They are striking and counter-organizing. They are protesting and pitch-forking their opponents.

EVERYWHERE IN THIS blessed land, flaming banners are flying, protesting and proclaiming about somebody being "unfair." And that is exactly the line of procedure that colored Americans must follow.

Colored Americans cannot deny that their status is better than that of the coolie, the peon, or the other woe-begotten unfortunates, who daily die a thousand deaths. But the colored American is the under dog. He is taxed without representation, and he is denied adequate protection of the law. He is made to be a pariah in the economic councils of his country.

To offset these disgraces and travesties there seems to be no virtue in lining up with the Communist party. But intelligent agitation and eternal vigilance must be made the part of the colored American's weapons.

• • •

AMERICA IS A great country. It holds itself out as the champion of democracy. It assails and assaults imperialism upon occasions, but it adamantly refuses to grant civil rights to its darker subjects.

It is ever ready to flay and browbeat every member of its darker minority, who is courageous enough to speak at the "front gate." Robeson has done that very thing, and American mobs have been set upon him.

It would be a very fine thing if Winchell, with his legion listeners, would call off the hounds and let Paul talk. His ringing appeals for human justice will not cause many colored citizens to join the Reds or plot the overthrow of this great Republic.

• • •

FOR BETTER OR worse, colored people are in the United States to stay. Having weathered slavery, the terrors of the Reconstruction period, the horrors of the masked riders of the night, and the pogroms of the South, there seem very little chance of their packing up and running away.

If things are so bad in other climes, it would be ridiculous and foolish for them to run. But such is idle chatter, piffle, and palaver. Colored people have their home-work cut out for them in these United States.

It does not seem that the darker minority is figuring on doing much, further dodging and ducking here at home. Thousands have run away from Dixie and on occasion, some of their leaders, other than Robeson, have admonished them to run no more. They are counselled to unite their brains, their ballots, and their bucks, into a crusade for higher recognition and better opportunities.

MINORITY NEWSMEN

Majority of Minority Newsmen Are Imbued With Sense of Duty

Courier Sat. 8-27-49

By JOSEPH D. BIBB

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

A CONTEMPORARY writer on another influential colored newspaper has, during the year, repeatedly stated from the public platform, "Our newspaper is a commerical enterprise. We are in business to make money and not to solve race problems." This is a most ill-tempered utterance. It is superficially conceived. It lacks wisdom, vision and understanding. Such a statement is capricious and loaded with moral obliquity. Such an attitude is not representative of the colored press.



Mr. Bibb

The newspapers published by the colored minority in America are not only engaged in commerical venture; they are also involved in unique and definite public service. A hallowed duty is imposed upon these newsmen to give voice, vision and understanding to their readers and constituents. They have a sacred and inviolate duty to present to the public the incidents, attitudes and occurrences directly and indirectly affecting the status and advancement of a minority people. It is a prodigious job. The task is Herculean. It cannot be well performed by those who are completely concerned with the acquisition of money.

• • •

THIS REPORTER IS happy to relate that the great majority of minority newsmen are imbued with a high sense of journalistic duty. They are motivated, in the performance of their mutiple tasks, with the burning desire to make the world a better place within which to live. They are inspired to do their jobs with the definite welfare of their readers in mind.

While it is axiomatically true that money is an invaluable and indispensable commodity for the welfare of newsmen, most of our editors, publishers, commentators and affiliates are devoutly impressed with the heavy duties and imposts that they have assumed. They do not deem their honorable profession as being naught but a commercial enterprise. If that were true our publications would be drab, dull and listless. Instead they are pulsating, vibrant and compelling.

That bitter, contemporary scribe seeks to condone and justify his position by telling of the tragic collapse of certain publications that once upon a time shouldered a few crushing crosses for the colored people. He says in defending his position, "Look at the finis of those publishers and newsmen, who climbed way out on a limb in the interest of colored people. The very people they sought to help turned their backs on them and left them to perish." This mis-statement of fact should have been nailed a long time ago. No great newspaper champions among colored people ever folded up because they lacked the support of their readers.

The record will reveal that economic conditions over which they had no control precipitated their collapse. Ninety-five per cent of all the business launched in America ends up in insolvency, but business goes on. The newspaper business, among colored people, must be conducted on sound business principle; if not, ruin awaits. But sound business methods do not entail cold, clammy, avaricious policies.

• • •

THE COLORED PRESS serves as a sword and a shield for a minority people. It makes them articulate. It gives them protection from defamers and corruptionists. It formulates opinion. It shapes thinking. It influences philosophies. It cannot function in these capacities with the profit motive alone.

Most of our publicists know this. It is a basic tenet in a newspaperman's religion. He knows that he is never going to carry away any of this world's goods with him when he crosses the Great Divide. His credo and his code are service and love.

Without them he is a fraud upon the public, a burden to society and a disgrace to his craft. He will be disillusioned. He will come to the end of his trail in ignominy and ill repute. A newspaperman will get out of his profession just about what he puts into it. That and nothing more. His job is not easy, but it is thrilling and exciting. He gets a sort of peace and satisfaction when he feels that he "keeps the faith" and fights the good cause.

• • •

THE TASK OF the colored newsman is indeed delicate and sensitive. Like a master violinist, he must touch the heart strings of society with his presentation of news. Some of the chords he strikes must be in smashing crescendo. Others must be soft and subdued.

He must run the entire gamut of human emotions. He cannot do this if dollar signs and crosses of gold are ever before him. That is why there is such fascination in following the unwritten code of minority newsmen. Those who are not indoctrinated with the highest ideals of journalism become bitter, fatalistic, carnal-minded and craven. They are gradually destroyed by the false idols that they worship. Money is not the goal.

It is the solemn and sacred duty of colored newsmen to lose caste, respect and dignity. They lose all.

HASTIE, THAT'S ALL

Governor Hastie's Elevation Is No Feather in President Harry S. Truman's Hat

By JOSEPH D. BIBB

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

THIS time last year colored voters were thrilled and inspired by the promise of "civil rights." Harry S. Truman was enthusiastically hailed as the modern Moses, who would lead the benighted colored Americans out of their wilderness of woes. They hailed Mr. Truman and plumped an avalanche of votes in his behalf. Their crushing and confident support contributed conspicuously to the Truman victory. They confidently expected to gain a fuller freedom in America. They hoped that the shackles of second-class citizenship would be stricken off by President Truman and his Eighty-first Congress.



Mr. Bibb

But there has been little change in their miserable status. All that they have gained is the appointment of William H. Hastie to the Federal bench. That's about all.

This appointment has hardly created a ripple of hope among colored people. Minority voters are sorely chagrined and disappointed. Their faith has been shattered and their hopes blasted. It is the common opinion among the colored electorate that they have been taken for a "political ride." The knowledge that 'civil rights" was a catch phrase coined by clever, scheming, political wordsmiths has slowly but surely dawned upon them.

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THE ELEVATION of Judge Hastie is commonly regarded as a political milksop. It is considered, even by average colored voters, as nothing more than a tricky gesture. It is deemed to be much like the act of tendering a stick of candy to a whimpering child, as he is told to bite his sweet meat and be a good boy.

After a year of faithful waiting and trustful pining, the colored voters have been brought face to face with the stark reality that the millenium for them will not arrive by virtue of the dapper, little President. With pathetic disillusion, the colored voter has come to the conclusion that he has been handled like a sap and a sucker.

THE HIGH HONOR bestowed upon Governor Hastie does not fulfill the extravagant promises made about this time last year. The draping of the judicial mantel over the swarthy shoulders of the Harvard-trained lawyer does not fulfill the least of the illusory promises of a year ago. President Truman's recognition of the bronzed darling of the New Deal, who has already been signally honored as Federal judge of the Virgin Islands, Governor over the same territory and Civilian Aide in the War Department, is not considered as adequate fulfillment of the promise of "civil rights."

President Truman has ignominiously failed to abolish segregation in Federal departments in Washington. He has appointed only one Ambassador, despite the superior achievement of Dr. Ralph Bunche. He has made no significant approaches toward giving the colored electorate a vote in the affairs of State. He has permitted his "Fair Deal" program to be tabled and kicked around as the political football that it really is. The only overt act and trembling gesture that he has made to colored people in the last year has been the appointment of Governor Hastie to the Federal bench. Even the colored politicos are not happy because the new judge took a wary and chary part in last year's Presidential campaign.

If it is true, as claimed by political experts, that the colored vote is the balance of power in more than a dozen states, and if it is also true that without this vote President Truman would have been defeated, then it appears that the Hastie appointment is sadly insufficient.

• • •

IT HAS BEEN the popular conclusion for many moons that the so-called "civil rights" issue is a dead duck. Only last week, the Truman administration was dealt another throttling jolt, when former big-wig Democrat James Byrnes let it be known that he intended to run for the Governorship of South Carolina. Byrnes is an advocate of State's rights. He has refused to condemn lynching, poll tax, and segregation. He is now the new hope of the Dixiecrats. He is destined to be a thorn in the side of all liberal Democrats, if there are any. Those who still maintain that the coalition of renegade Republicans and vicious Dixiecrats have hamstrung President Truman, cannot justify his failure to use the powers invested in him to abolish segregation in the departments of Government. The blame rests squarely at the White House and the Hastie appointment cannot offset it.

Just how much ground the Truman administration has lost with the colored voters can be learned during next year's Congressional elections. At this writing, the NAACP, and even certain colored water boys are expressing alarm and disconcerting concern. The Hastie appointment is no feather in Harry's hat. It gives honor and distinction to a brilliant lawyer and a fine gentleman, but falls short of the promises made last fall.

IS IT TRUE?

Dr. Mays Must Fit Into The Category Set Up by Schuyler, the Satirist

By JOSEPH D. BIBB

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

GEORGE SCHUYLER declares in one of his more recent, bristling comments that so-called "terror in the South" is largely non-existent.

But on the same page and in the same issue of The Courier, Benjamin Mays asserts that "No Negro is immune from insults, threats and abuse." Mays further adds that any person of color who thinks that he can escape the insults and terrorism of the South is either naive or stupid. Is it true what they say about Dixie?



Mr. Bibb

Schuyler has, on numerous occasions, declared that "human adjustments" are being rapidly made in the South. "Three-fourths of the colored Americans live and must continue to live there." He has brought down a torrent of criticism upon himself because he seems to have concluded that the tales of Southern terror have been grossly exaggerated and that the South is not such a bad place for the darker minority.

His opinion is shared by numerous whites, but by very few colored people.

DR. BENJAMIN MAYS, president of Morehouse College in Atlanta, Ga., and also a brilliant Courier writer, devotes an entire column to the terrors and travails in Dixie.

He tells of the prosperous Georgia farmer who was recently murdered by Southern whites because he wished to protect his fishing pond.

He recalled the brutal beating given Roland Hayes, the tenor singer, and the mistreatment inflicted upon his wife. He relates how one of the Morehouse professors was beaten because he complained of a crowded coach. And then Dr. Mays describes how he, himself, was threatened and humiliated by an Atlanta policeman.

Dr. Mays advises all colored people and their decent white friends to "fight the battle together." According to him, there are terror and trouble, while "no Negro is immune."

• • •

SCHUYLER OBJECTS TO the accusation made by, what he calls, "Negro intellectuals," who say, "Democracy is on trial." He declares that human beings remain the same, regardless of the form of government.

He concludes that democracy has nothing to do with prejudice, lynchings and the Ku Klux Klan. Those who complain about the operation of democracy in America, according to Schuyler, are "social workers," "welfare outfits," and "Reds," who live off of dissatisfaction, bitterness and grief."

Dr. Mays, from such an opinion, must fit in the category set up by Schuyler, the satirical scribe.

Many white writers, like Hodding Carter and Robert C. Ruark, subscribe to the Schuyler theory. Ruark, in his syndicated column, wrote last week about the "South Coming Up." He pokes fun at writers, even of the white race, like Erskine Caldwell, author of "Tobacco Road"; Tennessee Williams and William Faulkner, who, he claims, have been writing too long on the "seamier side" of the South.

He says that after reading about the Detroit riots and after walking through the hate-filled streets of Harlem, that he sometimes wonders if emancipation is not going on in the wrong place. Ruark says that things are not so bad in the South.

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I HAVE NEVER understood the point of the Schuyler thesis nor that of Ruark, either,. First-hand stories, like those related by Dr. Mays, are told to me almost every day.

I read of the Groveland (Fla.) pogroms and observe the antics of elected representatives of the South in Congress. The Courier tells about the Woodard affair and the Ingram cases. These tales strike terror in the soul.

Advances are being made in education, politics, and in various forms of race relations. But the South remains the bastion of hypocrisy, bigotry and terror!

If these two writers take such diametrically different viewpoints on the actual conditions in Dixie, I am seriously interested in learning the truth.

Ray Sprigle, a white reporter, declares that life for a colored person in the South is hell. Schuyler reports that he saw no evidence of wholesale terror.

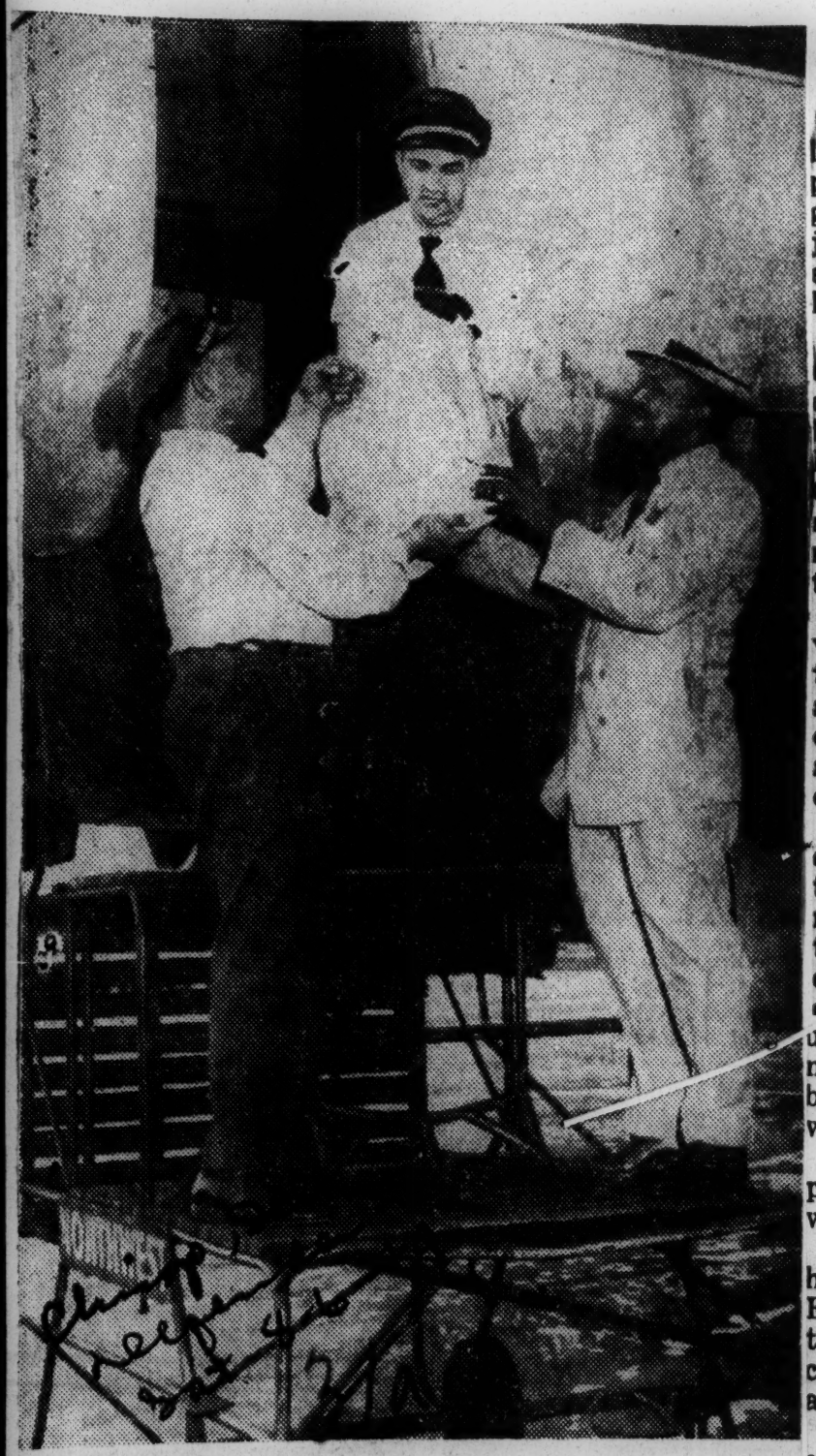
• • •

THE MAJORITY OF the critics of Southern systems of segregation, jim crow, poll tax, and exploitation are not Communists, neither are they "social workers."

They are American citizens, who believe in the ideals of democracy, and resent their status of second-class citizens. Not even Schuyler maintains that colored Americans are treated as first-class Americans. That is why they maintain that "democracy is on trial." Schuyler is technically right when he says that such a charge is not strictly correct. Democracy is not on trial. But those who operate within the confines of the democratic system, are. "Society does not move, those within it do." The whites of the South are not moving rapidly enough to suit this scribe.

Mays says that "No Negro is immune." Schuyler affirms that "terror in the South is largely non-existent." Is it true what they say about Dixie?

American citizens should be interested in the truth, and again, as Pontius Pilate asked: "What is the truth?"



ANOTHER MILESTONE in our world-wide distribution was passed this week when the Chicago Defender dispatched by Northwest Orient Airlines its first air shipment of papers to Anchorage, Alaska. Shown in the picture are John Watkins, M. L. Cash of the Northwest Airlines and Russell R. DeBow, circulation manager for the Chicago Defender. This shipment of papers was for James Garnett distributor for the Chicago Defender in Anchorage, Alaska.

The Defender Bombing

A reward of $1,000 for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the person or persons who hurled a mustard gas bomb into the Defender press room injuring one worker was announced by the editor and publisher, John H. Sengstacke, last week.

For over a year now, a group of former employees, who walked out of the Defender on orders of their downtown union boss, have tried to drive a wedge between this institution, its workers and the people of Chicago. We have been subjected to abuse, slander, threats and sabotage, but we have refused to dignify these malicious lies and threats with an answer.

When the Defender was bombed last week there was every reason to believe that this violent act stemmed from the same source. Such tactics have been used in labor disputes before. We are going to make sure, however, that no such act will ever occur at the Defender again.

The walkout of composing room workers at the Defender followed the strike action of employees of the five Chicago daily newspapers. The dispute centered around the Taft-Hartley Act which prohibits a closed shop. Our employees walked out because they were ordered to do so by the union boss who sought to whip the daily newspapers of Chicago in line. We have been victimized by circumstances over which we had no control.

Now, over a year later, the dispute appears to be no nearer settlement than it was the day the strike was called.

We believe that all of organized labor has been given a black eye by this dispute. Further, for union members to use violence to achieve their ends is the greatest conceivable folly. The unionists, by such actions, betray their best friends.

Organized labor cannot flout the law and ignore their responsibilities and win the support of the people. Reckless and irresponsible strikes and walkouts do more injury to the cause of labor than they do to the institutions affected.

The Chicago Defender believes in the right of workers to form unions and bargain collectively. This right, however, carries with it definite responsibilities. By acts of violence the unionists are undermining their own organization and betraying their fellow-workers.

We are determined that no acts of violence or threats will destroy this pioneer institution for there will always be a Chicago Defender.

A Page In The History Of The Race Is Told In 1949 Headlines Picked By Defender Newsmen

Chicago Defender

STARTLING news headlines jarred readers out of their complacency quite often during the past year. They reflected the full span of life from birth to death and all the emotions and experiences between the two extremes.

Elsewhere are chronicled only stories that were mile-stones in the progress of the race in 1949. Here is a list to top news events for the year. They represent the choices of members of the Chicago Defender News staff.

Dec. 12-31-49

Most newsmen voted Dr. Ralph Bunche's highly successful peace negotiations in Palestine as one of the outstanding news stories of the year. Other stories here are ranked in accordance with the number of votes received by each newsman.

31a

Chicago Defender

THE WALTER WHITE—Poppy Cannon Wedding.

BILL "BOJANGLES" Robinson's Funeral.

PAUL ROBESON's Statement in Paris on Negroes' favoring Communism.

AIR CORPS drops its Jim Crow Policy.

MRS. BETHUNE retires as President of the National Council of Negro Women; succeeded by Dorothy Ferebee.

INTEGRATION of Negroes at President Truman's Inaugural Functions on a completely equal basis.

FEDERAL HOUSING Administration revises its regulations to bar Federal financial assistance to properties covered by racial restrictive covenants.

THE GROVELAND, Fla., Reign of Terror and the Subsequent trial of three Negro suspects.

CONGRESSMAN DAWSON'S appointment to head the House Expenditures committee—the first Negro to head a major congressional committee, and his selection as vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

HOLLYWOOD'S film, "Home of the Brave," and others shown without incident in the South.

EZZARD CHARLES Wins World Heavyweight Championship.

DR. PERCY L. JULIAN's scientific discovery of Cortisone, the wonder drug to relieve arthritis.

HAMPTON INSTITUTE's naming Alonzo G. Moron as the first Negro president of that school.

U. S. JUSTICE Department's attack on the "separate but equal policy" as an outmoded doctrine.

U. S. ARMY'S Refusal to end racial segregation.

CIVIL AERONAUTICS Authority's ban on segregation in National Airport restaurants.

FEDERAL COURT Judge outlaws Birmingham, Alabama's zoning ordinance that was tantamount to a restrictive covenant.

NEGROES swing the November elections in Atlanta, Ga.

CONNECTICUT ADOPTS a statute prohibiting racial discrimination and segregation.

REPUBLICANS join Dixiecrats to make limited debate in the Senate almost impossible; leave door open for filibustering.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S staunch declaration of human rights in all branches of the government.

THE SOUTH, led by Gov. James Folsom of Alabama, repudiates the Ku Klux Klan.

ADA SIPUEL FISHER'S victory in her fight for admission to the University of Oklahoma's Law School.

THE CHICAGO SLAYING of Winston Howard by Charlie Cole, owner-manager of the fabulous Pershing Hotel.

ALABAMA POLICE CHIEF Thomas Gantt sentenced to two years in prison for beating five Negro prisoners with a rubber hose.

JACKIE ROBINSON'S and Don Newcombe's and Roy Campanella's contributions to the Brooklyn Dodgers pennant fight.

APPOINTMENT of William Hastie to the U. S. Court of Appeals.

DEFEAT OF BEN DAVIS by Earl Brown for a seat in the New York City council.

THE SERIES OF FLOGGINGS throughout Dixie with special attention to the Federal government's case against ten whites in Dade county, Ga., for the April 2 floggings of seven Negroes.

PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD'S new policy banning segregation on any of their trains.

UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS acceptance of Miss Edith Mae Irby in its Medical School on a non-segregated basis.

Undoubtedly, there were other outstanding news stories which captured the reading public's attention. But the ones listed here are the ones which newsmen considered the outstanding news events of 1949.

Ebony and Negro Digest (Dorie Miller Trophy)



HONOR DORIE MILLER — John H. Johnson, left, publisher of Ebony and Negro Digest, was awarded the Dorie Miller trophy at the Olivet Baptist church in Chicago last week. In the center is Willa Saunders Jones, sponsor of the famed Passion play held in Chicago annually, who served as mistress of ceremonies at the services. Elmer Fowler, right, is president of the foundation. Seen in the picture is the flag that was on the battleship USS Missouri during the Pearl Harbor attack. It was borrowed from the navy. (ANP).

THER Papers Say



A Code For Chicago With Its Increasing Negro Population

(From Chicago Sun-Times)

THE NON-WHITE POPULATION of Chicago has increased 42 per cent or more in the last nine years, but the white population has grown only about 6 per cent. This is one of the findings of a special survey conducted jointly by the University of Chicago and the U. S. Bureau of Census.

Most of the non-white increase is the result of migrations of large numbers of Negroes, many from the South.

These Americans come here for a variety of reasons: To escape the second- status in which the South imprisons them; to better themselves economically; and, we have been told, a large number come to Chicago so that their children may enjoy the advantages of our city's school system, advantages denied many of their race in the South.

There are some fundamentals that we believe every Chicagoan ought to understand.

1. The new citizens of Chicago, white or non-white, have a RIGHT to be here. Chicago was made great by the millions who CAME here as well as those who were born here. More citizens mean more manpower, more hands and brains to make our city better. They also mean more purchasing power and increased demand for the products of our industries.

2. If the coming of more citizens poses problems of housing and employment, we all will be better off by trying to solve the problems, not by grumbling.

3. The biggest "problem" involved has to do with the general acceptance outside "Bronzeville" of non-white persons as fellow citizens, as fellow Chicagoans.

4. Until that acceptance is genuine, Chicago will lack that community unity which the city needs if it is to accomplish its destiny as an aggressive progressive city. When that acceptance is taken for granted we will be on our way to smoother sailing. The practice of democracy is just good business in the social sense as well as in the economic sense.

Chicago has made considerable progress along this line in the past few years. The recent statement of Police Comr. Prendergast, on behalf of Mayor Kennelly, is a milestone:

"Every resident of Chicago is welcome to live anywhere in Chicago as long as he respects law and order."

Ted Poston has done it again on the Post—this time he is writing their harrowing expose of New York's dope racket. Somebody better buy that boy a bullet proof vest. After that Florida series and how dope, the Post ought to farm him out for a while on something healthy like the public library...

Hear tell Mabel K. Staupers, new proxy of the NACGN, has been promoted to assistant to director William A. Traynham of Mount Morris Park Hospital.

And we see by the papers that George Shuster, formerly of the Times, is now [illegible] Maritime Fisions publication, The Pilot. Congratulations, Mr. S.

Propaganda Made Of Negro News

ATLANTA, Ga. — "Southern newspapers constitute the greatest single force in perpetuating the popular stereotype of the Negro," declared the Southern Regional Council in a publication released this week.

The reports, entitled, "Race in the News," discusses current newspaper practices in the handling of racial news. It also prescribes standards for improved treatment and coverage of Negro news in the general press.

"The responsible editor," declares the report, "need not indulge in special pleading for the Negro. He need merely apply the same news values to Negro events that he does to all events. He simply handles stories about Negroes with the same respect for accuracy, the same sense of fair play and good taste, that good journalism demands in all stories."

The gravest charge against Southern newspapers, said the Council, is that "through repetition they have made the word 'Negro' in a headline synonymous with 'crime.'" The report added, "It is not honest reporting, but propaganda, when the preponderance of news stories about Negroes have to do with crimes committed by members of the group."

Pointing out that human interest stories usually present the Negro as a comic figure, the Council said, "American Negroes, like any other Americans, should be newsworthy when they achieve honors, exercise citizenship, suffer hardships, or face personal disaster and tragedy."

The report urged that courtesy titles be used uniformly for members of both races, that the taboo against pictures of Negroes be discontinued, and that papers "gather and report the news, as it is made, in the Negro community."

The Chattanooga Times and the Richmond Times-Dispatch were cited as Southern papers that have all but freed themselves of the habia of viewing Negro news by discriminatory standards.

The Southern Regional Council, with headquarters in Atlanta, is an organization of professional, business, labor and church people of both races in 13 Southern states. It has as its aim "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

Georgia (The Atlanta Pictorial Review)

31a 1949

Atlanta Has Another Negro Newspaper!

Courier 3/

ATLANTA, Ga. — Atlanta got a new Negro newspaper last week in "The Atlanta Pictorial Review." A twelve-page tabloid, the new journal features pictures, theatrical and society columns principally. Herbert Hawkins, former New Yorker, is principal photographer and manager of the publication. The first issue was well received.

World News in a Nutshell

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. 31w

By TREZZVANT W. ANDERSON

(Courier Staff Writer)

White Domination on the Way Out

"ALL eye East"—is the new watchword of the great white nations of the West, the U. S., Britain, France, Denmark and Belgium . . . and Russia . . . for in the East the groundwork is being laid for the independence of dark-skinned races all over the world. Ned Calmer, CBS newscaster, just back from a round-the-world trip, last Friday evening told his television audience that everywhere he went there was bloodshed and that "unless the United States changes its approach to the people of the Far East, we will lose far more ground than we have already lost," and "we've" lost plenty. Editors of Life magazine view with alarm the situation in Asia, Eastern Asia that is . . .



Mr. Anderson

But they fail to remember that Asiatic nations have formed the All-Asia Conference with the slogan "Asia for Asiatics"—meaning "get out, white man." Fear that a Russo-Chinese empire is in the making may be well-founded in view of the recent developments in Korea, where Uncle Sam has withdrawn all his big guns and where the National Assembly of the Korean Republic voted overwhelmingly for the resignation of the entire Rhee cabinet: President Syngman Rhee is the man the U. S. picked to head the first Korean Republic in history . . . Remember how white folks down South in the U. S. "pick" Negro "leaders" for us? Sat. 6-11-49

Russia is dickering for deals on Greece and China while the jockeying goes on over the plight of Germany . . . Still remember those twenty-eight crack Russian infantry and paratroop divisions along the borders of Iran . . . Iran, if you recall, is the fabulous land once known as Persia . . . and it has oil, oil, oil and more oil . . . The British press is giving Uncle Sam hell over the Gerhard Eisler deal . . . Among London papers blasting the poorly prepared American case was the Sunday Pictorial which put Uncle Sam's great white fathers of the Army on the spot during the war with an expose of racial discrimination tossed at Negro GIs stationed in East Anglia. The Manchester Guardian, Sam Solon's News Chronicle and the Sunday Observer were also listed as critics of U. S. policy on Eisler . . . "It does not prove that British justice favors Communism," said the Observer, citing the decision, "only that it dispenses the law impartially." Take a note Jackson for Uncle Sam's courts in Dixie . . . Meanwhile Britain fears a new economic crisis, which means that free-wheeling trade agreements will be made with any country (including Franco's Spain) where Britain can get a fair return on her pound sterling on the trade market . . . Quoted at $4.03, the British pound is now marketed in New York at $3.16 . . . offering a good deal for financial speculators with South American tie-ups.

Sat. 6-11-49 * *

Quick Glances Here, There and Everywhere . . .

Well, the strike in Bolivia is over at last . . . and two American engineers, white naturally, lie dead in that South American country abounding with tin . . . Some day these damfool white folk will realize that the reason for international hatred of the United States is due solely to the attitude of these same damfool white folks towards the American Negro . . . that spirit of race prejudice . . . These white folk need to learn that the nations of Africa, Asia and the islands of the seas read Negro newspapers published in the United States and read in them just what sort of treatment this "democratic" country is dishing out to 14,000,000 Negroes who are full-fledged native-born Americans . . . and when these overseas nations read about it, they still want Uncle Sam's money, but no part of anything else that Uncle Sam has, for they look upon him with scorn . . . some day these white folks will realize that.

News dispatch:

CAMPOBELLO ISLAND, New Brunswick, Canada, Aug. 17, 1914—A son, Frannklin D. Jr., was born here today to Mr. and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt of Hyde Park, N. Y., here on a summer vacation. The baby, a husky lad, was christened here.

That baby is now a Representative from New York and may, in 1960, become President of the United States . . . For Drew Pearson's benefit: he can!

The waterfront strike in Hawaii, now under study by the Department of Justice, may find the name of Harry Bridges, West Coast Longshoremen's head, being projected into the picture. The Tom Clark judiciary—which has NEVER been able to bring justice to Negro lynch victims and their families—claims Commies are backing the deal . . . id est quo.

This shows how "experts" think: Hanson W. Baldwin, military expert of the New York Times, discussing the coming war with Russia, asked this question in the Times of May 22: "Would we want an 'unconditional surrender,' a victory of annihilation?" Mind you, this before we even start the war . . . Wow!



ALBERT Barnett 31a

Student Asks: "What's Future Of Negro In Journalism

IT IS ALWAYS commendable for oldsters to encourage ambitious youth. 'Old men for counsel, young men for war,' can be paraphrased and find its counterpart in our every-day life.

This observation is prompted by a recent query addressed to this Column by a young man, now a senior student in journalism at one of our major colleges. His question: "What does the future hold for a Negro, with his degree in journalism? Can he work on 'white' newspapers? What are his chances on our Negro papers?

At first glance, this four-fold question would seem like a pretty big order, and it would be if you exhausted each subject thoroughly, as reams could be written about them. But you must admire the frankness and candor of a youth who has chosen journalism as his life work, and who wants to avoid as many pitfalls as possible on his journey down the way.

So, as a sort of morale builder, here are candid replies to the student's queries: His first: "What does the future hold for the Negro, with his degree in journalism?" The answer is that never before in the history of American newspaperdom, has the future been brighter or more promising for those who want to become specialists in this field.

Radio, television, the pulpit and the public platform have not, and never will replace the printed word. Rather, they enhance the demand for newspapers, magazines and books. People read for relaxation and for mental stimulus—to broaden their field of knowledge and get a condensation of world events.

To the student's second question, "Can a Negro work on 'white' newspapers," the answer is definitely, 'Yes.' These choice spots on metropolitan dailies, however, are merit awards to those who have become specialists in their particular branch of newspaper work.

Here are some Negro newsmen, past and present and of national fame, whose by-lines have graced the pages of 'white' publications: Ted Poston, New York Post; Joe Baker, Philadelphia Inquirer; Stanley Braithwaite; Eugene Gordon of Boston; Edgar Rousseau, New York Herald-Tribune; Wendell Smith, Hearst Publications; Leslie Walton, later appointed Minister to Liberia; Earl Brown, Life Magazine; Joseph Bibb and Horace Cayton, Chicago Sun; Roscoe Simmons, Chicago Tribune and this writer, who wrote a twice-a-week column for the Chicago Sun and whose articles were stopped after protest from Negro sources that he was 'writing a Jim Crow column.'

As to the student's third question—"What are his chances on our Negro papers," the answer is too apparent to warrant lengthy comment. There is a dearth of qualified newspaper men and women to fill the demand. To get skilled workers in this highly specialized field, Publisher John H. Sengstacke of the Chicago Defender, several years ago, established the **Robert S. Abbott** award in journalism at Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Mo., in honor of his uncle, Mr. Abbott, founder and publisher of the World's Greatest Weekly.

Mr. Sengstacke established the award to encourage students to perfect their technique and each year brings the honored student to the Chicago office of the Defender, to give him editorial practice and experience as a much-needed supplement to the theory he has learned at Lincoln. The field in Negro newspaper work is unlimited — restricted only by the capacity of the individual.



ALBERT Barnett 31a

Wendell Phillips Dabney; A Great Name—A Great Man

DESERVED tribute was paid last week to Wendell Phillips Dabney, sage of Cincinnati and dean of America's newsmen. The occasion marked the 84th birthday of the famed publisher of the Cincinnati Union and a highlight was the testimonial dinner in the Manse Hotel ballroom, with several hundred fellow newsmen, city leaders and admirers present to honor him.

Mr. Dabney has had a colorful and varied career, exceeded by but few men, past or present. As paymaster for the City of Cincinnati, in his heyday, he was spokesman for his people in city and state circles and was held in hign esteem by ranking officials, from the governors, down.

An ardent and accomplished musician, he was at one time on the teaching staff of the Rudolph Wurlitzer company and also won wide notice as a composer. His humor and versatility as journalist and writer of prose was equalled, if not excelled by his ability as poet.

Copies of Mr. Dabney's Cincinnati Union—a-one-man-organ—can be found on the desks of big-name leaders of the fourth estate. One of his greatest friends and sincerest admirers was the late William Allen White, famed publisher of the Emporia Gazette, sage of Kansas, whose homely philosophy and concept of the art of living find their reflection in the life work of Mr. Dabney.

It is significant that both men, though widely separated by race and terrain, owe their great success to the spirit of tolerance and understanding which dominated their lives.

The great observer Lavater, who could say reams in a few words, probably had White and Dabney in mind, when he said: "True philosophy is that which makes us to ourselves and to all about us, better; and at the same time, more content, patient, calm and more ready for all decent and pure enjoyment."

Many of Mr. Dabney's contemporaries, through the years, have achieved renown as newsmen and editors, although all have not reached the elusive pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. One of his great admirers and most successful friends who started from scratch and developed the World's Greatest Weekly, was the late Robert S. Abbott, founder and publisher of the Chicago Defender, whose office was always open to the popular publisher of the Cincinnati Union.

Other newsmen, past and present, who pursued parallel careers with Mr. Dabney, include T. Thomas Fortune, founder of the New York Age and one of the greatest Negro journalists of all time; Chris J. Perry, Sr., who wrote for the Philadelphia North American; Orrin C. Evans of the Philadelphia Record and a staff member of the Chester (Pa.) Times; Joseph H. Rainey, Philadelphia Record; Wm. Monroe Trotter, Boston Guardian; Claude Barnett of the Associated Negro Press and others, too numerous to mention.

A committee of distinguished Cincinnatians arranged the testimonial banquet last week for Mr. Dabney. It was headed by Horace Sudduth, prominent real estate broker and president of the National Negro Business League.

At dinner's end, over demi-tasse and cigars, had Mr. Dabney chosen to reminisce and recall events more than half a century ago, the modest publisher could have pushed back the calendar to the year 1893, when he was a prominent figure at the World's Columbian Exposition, first Chicago World's Fair.

A committee of Chicago leaders, at that time, headed by the late Ida B. Wells-Barnett, protested to Exposition officials that no Negro had been included as representative to the Fair from a foreign country. Pressure was so great that it was decided something must be done to placate the Negroes of America.

So, an appeal was sent to the great abolitionist, orator and scholar, Frederick Douglass, to be the official representative of the Republic of Haiti at the Exposition.

On the opening day, with great fanfare, pomp and ceremony the revered Fred Douglass—idol of his people, but anathema to Dixiecrats—was escorted to the reviewing platform and introduced to Exposition officials—by his good friend and confidant—Wendell Phillips Dabney of Cincinnati.

As We See It

Daily Worker N.Y. N.Y. 3b
Thur. 2-24-49

A New Style in Cold War Glamor

By Abner W. Berry



DON'T LOOK AT the calendar just now—but this is the fifth day of Brotherhood Week. It has been proclaimed officially in newspapers, over the radio, in streetcar advertisements. Double-talking orators have spouted their views of "brotherhood" from a thousand pulpits, rostrums and City Halls.

But judging from the speeches made in New York last Monday, "brotherhood" is the name of a new American weapon for use in the cold war against the Soviet Union. Oscar R. Ewing, a sort of home front roving ambassador for President Truman, described it as something with which to win against "Communism." Brotherhood, or "equality of opportunity," Ewing, who also functions as Federal Security Administrator, told a group of Bronx businessmen, is the "unique attribute which sets our America apart." He did mention in passing something about "the alleyways of our tenements" and the "dark hinterlands of Georgia," but he blamed these on "human frailties."

At the City Hall Acting Mayor Vincent Impelliteri hued to the stock line brotherhood talks and placed his dependence on something he called "world events in the last decade" to teach Americans that brotherhood represents "the only hope for the future." Impelliteri's co-speaker, actress Madelaine Carroll, made the real political speech last Monday, setting a new style in cold war glamor. To me it was amazing to behold what can be done with a word like "brotherhood."

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MISS CARROLL thought there should be no questioning our democracy. Why, there are those among us, she purred prettily, who "even doubt the reality of our brotherhood." These doubters, she went on, are a blusterous minority who are not nearly so important as "the great millions of silent and sensible United States citizens." Of course, she did concede that the "minority" dissent results from "insecurity and fear of the future." But for herself, she preferred the "national quality of optimism." (Who said that Brotherhood Week had anything to do with tolerance?)

Just a couple of blocks down the street from where Miss Carroll and Impelliteri spoke, 11 Communist leaders are on trial because they would not remain among the "great millions of silent" ones while organized government attacked the foundations of brotherhood. And on the same day that the City Council chamber rang with "Brotherhood" speeches a Negro family was left fatherless when a Brooklyn cop pumped three bullets into the back of 29-year old George Widell.

The cop was not a victim of "human frailties." He is the product of a hardboiled policy, originating in big business circles and carried out through the city government, which says in effect that "Negroes have no rights in New York which cops are bound to respect." I think that Acting Mayor Impelliteri should do better homework on "world events." He should know that "world events," dominated by American big business in a large part, are "teaching" American superiority—national chauvinism. When this is translated into domestic currency it adds up to white supremacy, mob violence, police brutality and Jimcrow justice.

Thur. 2-24-49

I CAN'T BELIEVE that Oscar Ewing, who knows his way around in the world of politics, really thinks that Herman Talmadge, the lynch-minded governor of Georgia, is a "human frailty." Every one knows that Talmadge represents at home the same type of ruler for the owners of the industries and plantations in Georgia that Franco makes for Spain. He is as strong and as full of well-directed purpose as the big northern businesses which own 85 percent of the state.

Madelaine Carroll seemed somehow to have more international know-what-it's-about than the two politicians. She understood that the general idea abroad in ruling American circles is that our rulers can do no wrong and that the peoples should be quiet; that the only real Americans are "the great millions of silent and sensible United States citizens."

It was the "crime" of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram that she was not "silent" when attacked by a white Georgia farmer. For resisting, she and her two sons are serving life sentences in a Georgia prison. And she would not be among Miss Carroll's "sensible" people. The Communists, who are not "silent" about the Ingrams, about the six Trenton Negroes railroaded to death sentences, about the killing of George Widell, about the arrests of their leaders, couldn't be among Miss Carroll's nice Americans.

3b • Thur.

THE NEGRO PEOPLE have not been "silent" about "the (Jimcrow) alleyways of our tenements" and the happenings in the "dark hinterlands of Georgia." Three or four times during the past year they have trekked to Washington to voice their determination to fight what "insecurity and fear of the future." The Communists and the Negro people have demonstrated that they are for year-round brotherhood. 2-24-49

And the fact that this activity, despite and against "world events," can now be termed in action and in speech "Un-American," only illustrates one phrase in Ewing's Brotherhood Week speech. This oratorial agility which can make of virtua a "crime" is truly the "unique attribute which sets our (the bankers' and the generals') America apart," as Ewing so aptly put it. It is the very source of this uniqueness which the people must overcome before the road to brotherhood is open.

As We See It

Daily Worker N.Y. N.Y. 3b
Thur. 3-3-49

Walter White's Colonial Policy And the Atlantic Pact

By Abner W. Berry



LAST SUNDAY, in the Herald Tribune, Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, unfolded his colonial policy. And if anyone didn't know until then what White's differences were with Dr. W. E. B. DuBois— the Sunday piece banished all lingering doubts. For White, who was an advisor to the American delegation at the Paris meeting of UN last fall, put the future of the colonies up to such "revolutionary democrats" as Senators Arthur (Vandy) Vandenberg and Tom (Texas) Connally, and Secretary of State Dean Acheson.

Writing about the proposed North Atlantic pact, White muses: "Consciously or otherwise an alliance of the United States and all the nations of Western Europe will result, unless carefully guarded against, in an orientation of action and thought primarily directed toward the welfare of Europe alone."

Now why does he think the pact is called "North Atlantic" instead of the "Indian Ocean Pact," or the "South Pacific?"

White worries over the fact that the sources of raw materials which Europe needs will have to be furnished by Asia and Africa. He follows this with the tentative thought that this "probably will mean not only the perpetuation but the intensifying of colonialism."

I DON'T KNOW why he uses the word "probably." Hasn't he seen—or heard—of the results of the Marshall Plan, the forerunner of the North Atlantic Pact, on the colonial slaves in Africa and Asia? Didn't he read the reports filed by the Africans with UN agencies revealing that natives were being whipped, driven off the land,



forced to work in mines and industries—all of this to provide the raw materials needed for Marshall Plan dollars? Could the North Atlantic alliance be the opposite of the Marshall Plan?

Now if White's answers to these questions show what I prefer to believe a purposive fuziness, his proposed safeguards against further excesses in this direction are preposterous.

If, writes White in an attempt to wheedle a philanthropic concession from the white masters, if the North Atlantic Alliance aids only Europe at the expense of the colonies, then:

"Such a development would swiftly force the recently formed Asian Union in sheer self-defense to become an irresistible forces of revolt . . ." And:

"Despite the passionately anti-Communist convictions of Pandit Nehru and other leaders of the Asian Union, they might be forced into alliance with Soviet Russia instead of the democracies of the Western World."

Thur. 3-3-49

REMEMBER that the Western powers are presently, as they have been for more than a century, subjugating hundreds of millions in Africa and Asia. Square that fact with the generally accepted meaning of the word "democracy," apply your results to White's plea and your answer should be a brand new, Marshall Plan, "new-look" Uncle Tom. The masters are the good democrats to White; the liber-

ators are the devilish meddlers. But don't take my word for it.

White assures his sponsors that he doesn't overlook "the hazard to world peace in the contemporary bellicose attitude of Soviet Russia." He is FOR the North Atlantic Alliance with its dangers "carefully guarded against." He abhors, with the vehemence of a colonial administrator, the mere thought of a colonial freedom rising. He nominates his trustees and charges them with the task of safeguarding colonial freedom. Again he chooses the good white masters who have brought the colonies and the world to the present pass.

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AFTER DESCRIBING what is happening to the colonials as future "dangers," White concludes with this gem of a proposal:

"It is imperative that President Truman, Dean Acheson, Senator Tom Connally (present chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee), Senator Arthur Vandenberg and other formulators of American foreign policy be on guard with all the vision and ability at their command against the pitfalls in a North Atlantic Alliance which could well lead us to disaster."

Winston Churchill, an imperialist who needs no introduction, told off reformers like White when he declared, "I didn't become the King's First Minister to preside over the dissolution of the Empire."

The men to whom White is pleading for colonial freedom are riding the wave of the "American Century" with the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Alliance as vehicles. It is well that the colonial peoples, as well as the Negro people in America, can remember no instance where the slave drivers voluntarily abdicated their positions of privilege. And when this knowledge leads to action on their part for their freedom, White has served notice that he is stringing along with those in power.

After seeing White's colonial policy in print it is no wonder that Dr. DuBois couldn't stand it. And neither can the Negro people. To them it spells disaster.

As We See It

Lynchers Operate Under Cover of Cold War

By Abner W. Berry

BROTHERHOOD WEEK has come and gone, but the well-worn refrain of the red-baiters on the Negro question goes on and on: "Our treatment of the Negro is grist to the Soviet propaganda mill." This hymn is sung by a chorus which includes such names as Clare Boothe Luce, Philip Murray, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Walter White, A. Philip Randolph, David Dubinsky, the younger Rockefellers and a host of others. And the chorus increases as the cold war warms up with pacts and bombs and strategic bases.

When this phrase first was coined I thought it a backhanded tribute to the Soviet Union's lack of racism. Otherwise how coud Negro oppression be "grist to the propaganda mills." But the use of this phrase has much more sinister purposes, and some of them are beginning to show.

FOR EXAMPLE, when Walter White, with a perfectly straight face, criticizes every lynching from the point of view of its relationship to the cold war, he is dissociating himself from any mass movement of the people to curb lynching. His aloofness from every mass delegation to Washington on the civil rights issue illustrates this.

When David Dubinsky and Philip Murray use the old "grist mill" theory of struggle for Negro rights, they are branding every honest effort to get trade union rights for Negroes as a Soviet invasion.

The proceedings of the last CIO convention in Portland, Ore., show this to be true.

Every time a delegate mentioned Negro discrimination there he was either answered by Murray himself or by one of Murray's stooges. In setting down any delegate who mentioned Negro rights they were "containing" Soviet penetration.

Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, carrying out the non-Soviet-propaganda line, refused to sponsor an Elks-led assembly for civil rights in Washington last February. She accused the mass action of being "not indigenous"—foreign — to American principles.

Of course the Rockefellers and Mrs. Roosevelt; who are knee-deep in the Marshall Plan and its profitable provisions for plundering Africa and Asia (not to mentioin Europe, itself), are playing their own game. Just connect oppression of the Negro with Soviet propaganda and —bang!—we can crack the first Soviet head which rears itself making too much of a noise about Negro oppression in the United States.

YOUNG Irving Daniels, a Negro Veterans Administration worker in Atlanta knows about this. He resented, as a World War II veteran, the rank discrimination practiced against Negro patients in the Atlanta VA hospital. He did something about it. He protested and took the matter up with his union, the CIO United Public Workers (a union despised by Philip Murray and the Dixiecrats). For stirring up such "grist for Soviet propaganda mills" Daniels was fired as a "disloyal" worker.

This latest development of cold war diplomacy on the home front fight for democracy is curious indeed. An oppressive system, generating both mob and judicial lynchings, uses as its own defense the outcry against the oppressions it lives by. And behind the latest Marshall Plan-cold war propaganda line a new crop of labor misleaders and Negro "Uncle Toms" are able to serve the masters by placating the slaves with promises of "a better day" in the sweet by and by. This "better day," to be sure, will be brought about by the "Great White Father" providing there is no "profane" (read: pro-Soviet) activity such as picket lines, mass petitions and demonstrations.

We have read of men who counseled the same type of trust in the masters of human slaves they owned. Those men are known now to the Negro people as the houseboy stoolpigeons who postponed the day of freedom and added immeasurably to its costs.

I THINK that the next time a labor leader or a Negro leader gives out with this "grist to the Soviet mills" propaganda he should be told that lynching and other oppressive devices of American capitalist society affect the Negro people first of all. We are going to have these devices with us, too, until the workers, black and white, and the Negro people as a whole become ACTIVE — make a real noise—against them.

The pro-Marshall Plan Negro leaders, their friends who hold positions in the labor movement and the rich white philanthropists have a purpose in pointing to the Soviet Union when they speak about Negro rights. They don't intend to compliment the Soviet Union. They are attempting to sell and resell the idea of the mass fight for Negro rights as a "foreign" importation.

MARY McLEOD Bethune

(31a) Negro



Mrs. Bethune Pays a Well Eearned Tribute to American Womanhood

IN this period of world tension and atomic threat to civilization, the womanhood of America is forging to the front. They are giving leadership and a burning devotion in facing the problems of justice and equality.

This thought pounded itself home to me the other day as I sat thinking of the great opportunities that are opening up for Negro women. And while I could not cover them all, my mind settled on a few women who stand in the front line today.

Among these, I see such persons as Eleanor Roosevelt, who stands so high up on the ground of human justice. Her devotion to right, her unceasing efforts, her superb accomplishment in fashioning the World Bill of Rights, have won her a place in the hearts of the world's masses.

Then there are the heads and promoters of the Young Women's Christian Association, who have had the courage to make a declaration for freedoms for all peoples. They have opened wide the doors of the YWCA and let down the bars of discrimination, inequality, segregation and discrimination.

Almost with tears in my eyes, I thought of the profound statement of Mrs. Blair Buck, head of the General Federation of Women of America, declaring that the doors of the General Federation have been opened to all women. Those doors, in the past, have been so tightly bolted against Negro women.

Likewise, the leaders of the Hadassah have opened their doors and have affiliated Negroes into the organization.

And the women of the great Southern Methodist Church long, long ago sounded the gavel and called for the growth of the circle if sisterhood. They have insisted that segregation and discrimination must go.

I thought of Agnes Meyer and the matchless articles she has authored on the sociological problems of oppressed minorities in America; of Lillian Smith, that courageous southerner who dares to write and speak out for justice and equality; of Pearl Buck and her incessant insistence that there be "no East, no West."

Helen Gahagan Douglas, the staunch fighter for liberalness and justice in the Congress of the United States; Helen Wilson and Mrs. Harper Sibley who have fought so hard against jimcrow in the armed services—these women crossed my mind.

Oh, it was a most heartening session I was having with myself and my thoughts. How could it be otherwise when thinking of these and the scores of other women who are broadening the circle day by day in the belief that the Constitution of the United States shall be made to work here in America?

And, of course, my mind went again to the opportunities that are consequently opening up for Negro women. It leads me to call with all my might upon our Negro women to prepare themselves. Prepare for entrance into all these fields and doors that are coming open and into whatever others may come open! Be ready!

I know of but one way that we can be ready. That way is through united effort. We have got to pool our resources and abilities. We have got to pull together. We must unite for service and progress.

There may be a million ways to do this. One way, however, is already available. The National Council of Negro Women stands as a symbol—as a watchman on the wall—and urges you to enter. Through it you may be able to don the seven-league boots with which to take giant strides through the open doors and new fields that are beckoning.

Hamilton Holt, one-time editor of Harper's Weekly. And I was that Negro.

It was with pardonable pride that I received the honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters from Rollins College on Feb. 22, and joined the other honorees in participation in the Rollins College annual feature of its "live magazine," wherein each of us read a 5-minute excerpt from some of our writings or publications.

Do you wonder that I never lose faith that TOMORROW WILL BE BRIGHTER?



MARY McLEOD Bethune

Story Behind the Headlines: Dream Comes True After 15 Long Years

LAST week I saw a man's dream come true. He was a white man in Florida.

Some 15 years ago, his vision, his humaneness, his sincere concern about the future, led him to extend to a Negro an invitation to speak before the student body of the college of which he was president. Word of this then unheard of gesture on his part reached the controlling powers at the school and he was given an ultimatum.

Chargrined and crestfallen, he paid a visit to the Negro, traveling several miles to appear in person. With tears in his eyes, he told the Negro that he had extended the invitation in good faith; that he believed it would render a real service to the community, to the school, to the faculty and the students to have them hear the kind of message he knew this black person could and would bring. He said he had been told that if he did it, however, he would cease as of that moment to be president of the college.

Then, squaring his shoulders, and with a look of calm determination in his eyes, he told the Negro that the invitation still stood.

The Negro was deeply touched. But without hesitancy, the Negro told this far-seeing, enlightened college president that perhaps a great deal could be accomplished through such a speech and through the example and sacrifice that the college president was willing to set and make.

"But your college and the State of Florida need men like you," the Negro continued. "While I appreciate the honor you pay me, I believe far more good will be accomplished by your remaining president of the school than by anything I could possibly say in 15 or 20 minutes of speech-making. With you at the college helm, there will come a day when attitudes will be different."

The college president left. On many things, the Negro and this college president worked cooperatively for the good of Florida and humanity.

A few weeks ago, the board of trustees of this same college broke all precedent in the South by inviting that same Negro to become the first of that race to receive an honorary degree from a southern white educational institution.

Rollins College in Winter Park, Fla., the oldest institution of higher education in the state. The president was, and is,

MARY McLEOD **Bethune**

Chicago Defender



McAlpin Gives Inside View Of D.C. Rights Conference

Chicago Defender
Sat-2-26-49

I have no doubt but that in the several decades I have been on the firing line in the battle for opportunity and equality—for women, for youth and for Negroes—there have been occasions when my judgements and or actions have been severely criticized. But because any errors I have made have been those of the head and not of the heart, I have never attempted to answer my critics.

I do not intend to start such a procedure now!

I was so impressed, however, by the radio remarks of Harry McAlpin, journalist and world traveler, that I thought those of you who did not hear the program broadcast locally in Washington might be interested in what he said.

McAlpin worked as my chief of public relations services when I was director of the Office of Negro Affairs in NYA, and he comes as near as anyone I know to understanding my philosophy, my heart and the workings of my mind.

On a program in which he also talked about his observations during a year in Korea, he spoke of the civil rights rally held in Washington on February 11 and 12, from which I withdrew my name as sponsor because of the presence of some persons on the sponsor list with whose methods and procedures I could not agree. He said:

". . .Communist-affiliated and communist-inclined individuals and groups have invariably latched themselves on to or infiltrated into every liberal and progressive movement made or organized in behalf of civil rights for minorities.

"And that, I am afraid, will be the fate of the efforts of the civil rights rally held here in Washington. . .

"A wave of criticism and dissension arose when Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, president-founder of the National Council of Negro Women, withdrew from sponsorship of the rally when she read the full list of sponsors.

"Mrs. Bethune believes, however, as a member of a minority group, that we will have to learn, as the world at large is learning and as the Koreans in particular have learned, that you cannot deal with communism.

"Mrs. Bethune believes we cannot be so shortsighted as to say 'bring on the revolution if that's what it takes to remove the infirmities of our democracy . . .'

"As a member of a minority, neither does Mrs. Bethune nor do I condone the weaknesses in our American democracy. Unlike Achilles, it is not vulnerable just at the heel, but over much of its body politic. But Mrs. Bethune prefers, as do I, the weaknesses that exist under a system within the framework of which we can object, petition for change and vote our free will—yes, prefer that to a system that would remove all color bars and yet deny us freedom.

"These, too, are civil rights.

"Mrs. Bethune nor I would want to be part of a system if we were white.

"But to this we would add, for her life has proved that she agrees, that unless we—all of us—use the rights we have within the framework of our democratic and constitutional government, to remove the vulnerable spots in our practice and effectuation of its principles, then we are false to the cherished heritage that is ours. . ."

Sat-2-26-49

If I were inclined to defend myself against my critics, I think I could choose no more effective words than McAlpin has used.

MARY McLEOD **Bethune**



DAR Stand On Aid To Education Shocks; Robeson Missed His Cue

(31)
Chicago Defender
Chicago Defender

TWO things in the news last week have disturbed me. The first was the narrow view expressed on national and international matters by the Daughters of the American Revolution. The second was the presumption of Paul Robeson speaking in Paris before the World Peace Congress.

Sat-4-30-49

I cannot say I was surprised at the pronouncements of the DAR opposing the world-mindedness that necessarily must be the key to lasting peace. An organization that can be so circumscribed in its outlook as to ban the appearance of Marian Anderson on its stage in Constitution Hall solely because she is a Negro would likely be bigoted and narrow in other outlooks and attitudes. I was chagrined that a group of women as influential as the DAR should express such views, but I was not surprised.

But when this same group unanimously endorsed a resolution opposing federal aid to education, I was shocked. This I had not expected even from the DAR. The reason given—"federal aid will ultimately mean federal control which would reflect the views of the government in power, and could hasten the advance of state socialism"—seems to be straining to lift a gnat. It is so far-fetched as to be ridiculous. And again, I am chagrined.

Likewise, I am concerned about reports of the speech of Paul Robeson, in which he is alleged to have presumed to speak for the Negroes of America. "I bring you a message from the Negro people of America that they do not want a war which would send them back into a new kind of slavery . . . It is unthinkable," he is reported to have said, "that American Negroes would go to war on behalf of those who have oppressed us for generations against a country which in one generation has raised our people to the full dignity of mankind."

To declare that he brought such a message from the Negro people of America would presume that such a message has MY endorsement and approval since I am a Negro. While it is my sincere hope that none of us, white or black, will ever have to go to war again, I thoroughly disagree with such an expression of disloyalty to my own country. What is more, I believe millions of other Negroes—despite the oppressions we all suffer—are still the most loyal and dependable citizens on whom this country might rely in time of war.

Sat-4-30-49

Mr. Robeson is a great artist, and as such I admire him. As an individual, he is entitled to have whatever economic or political beliefs he chooses; and as an American citizen, he is free to express them.

But when Mr. Robeson presumes to speak for me—and I believe the same would be true in the case of millions and millions of other Negroes—in expressing disloyalty to our country, then I think he has missed his cue and has entered the stage during the wrong scene. I am chagrined at his presumption and its implication.

PAYS TRIBUTE TO A FRIEND-WILLIE GERTRUDE BROWN

The word firendship seems almost scared as I think of Willie Gertrude Brown, who left us recently, under such tragic circumstances. Her life was truly one that will live after her.

Among my Scotia sisters who passed through the sacred halls of my old alma mater,Barber-Scotia College,since the days of my own training and inspiration, none seems more dear than she. Complete selflessness motivated her every act. Truly the great spirit of Barber-Scotia, which filled all our lives- "Not to be ministered unto, but to minister"- had fully enveloped her life. In all reality she gave her life that others might have life more abundantly.

The service that will stand longest as a monument to Gertrude Brown, was the building, in Minneapolis of the community center where she gathered together people of all races, and creeds and nationalities, and taught them the spirit of brotherhood and democracy through daily fellowship- living,growing and working together under one roof, in an atmosphere of co-operative understanding and mutual respect.

Her participation in the community life of Minneaposli, her ability to interest the highest city officials in the needs of the city's neglected,electrified Minneapolis, and drew her into the hearts of all its. Minneapolis acclaimed her "Outstanding Citizen of the Year", one of its most eventful occasions. Her picture now hangs on the walls of the Chamber of Commerce of the community she made her own, in company with other illustrious citizens of Minneapolis.

Hundreds of young people trying to find their way through the University of Minneapolis,received their greatest encouragement and assistance from the heart and brain and hand of Willie Gertrude Brown.The students of Bethune Cookman College-the people of the Daytona Beach community,can never forget the steady hand of strong,gentle influence that she wielded among young and old, and the commanding respect she won from all.

She came to Bethune-Cookman as my special assistant,during my later years as its president.She displayed at our college, a spirit of duty measured, not by minutes or hours, but by the responsibilities of the task that presented itself.

Her last civic service was the supervision and guidance of government girls, here in Washington. Thousands found help and deepened security in her friendly anddiscerning counsel during the trying war years.

I miss her- she was my friend- my personal friend. We confided in each other. I did not know that she was going so quickly. She always felt that I would be the one. She felt that I needed the attention and the care of my years over hers. I can hear her saying to me, now,"My dear, what can I do for you?"

The last time I saw her, she was running up my steps, calling, "Dear! I had to borrow one of your hats- I forgot mine! I did not know that those would be her last words to me.

God bless her! Her example of service- unselfish service; her example of clean living, of high ideals, of lifting others as she herself climbed- how much they have meant!

Scotia has lost an illustrious alumna. Social work has lost a giant in that field. Countless boys and girls have lost a loyal advocate. The church has lost a devout, Christian worker; the National Council of Negro Women, one of its real pillars, I have lost a friend.

Defender
Sat. 12-3-49
Chicago,Ill.



Oswald Garrison Villard And Hallie Quinn Brown

TWICE, within as many weeks, the hand of God has gently beckoned, removing true and tried soldiers from the unending battle for human rights.

Hallie Quinn Brown, the first to go, represented the cream of leadership of the Negro minority of her generations, for whose right to a place in the sun, Oswald Garrison Villard, who followed her into immortality, devoted the best energies of his long and useful life.

A leader of great talents and many interests, Hallie Q. Brown, clubwoman and churchwoman, was perhaps, most of all, an educator in the broadest sense of the word. A long-time resident of Ohio and a graduate of Wilberforce University, her great influence was felt through the years, not only at her alma mater, which recently named its new library for her, but throughout the country. Although she served as both classroom teacher and dean in leading educational institutions, the seventh president of the National Association of Colored Women made her greatest contribution in establishing and selling to her fellow-citizens, the Hallie Q. Brown Scholarship Fund of fifty thousand dollars, to help needy students of promise.

When we think of this stalwart, constructive fighter for the cause of broader education for all, we think of other pioneers—of the late Imogene Howard of Philadelphia, of Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin and Maria Baldwin, of Boston, and of still-active Mary Church Terrell of Washington, that vigorous veteran of many campaigns, who has just emerged, crowned with years and victory, from the fight to open to all academically qualified women, all the doors of the American Association of University Women.

Oswald Garrison Villard, grandson of the great abolitionist, William Lloyd Garrison, knew and understood them all, and held up their hands, as he held up the hands of all of us, as a founder of the National Association of Colored People, which he helped to established nearly forty years ago, together with Moorefield Storey, William English Walling, W. E. B. DuBois, John Millholland and Francis Blascore.

And he, too, was an educator, using the editorial columns of his liberal New York Evening Post, and of his magazine, The Nation, to advocate the cause of equality for all men, and of peace for the world in which they lived. He carried high the torch passed to him by his grandfather, founder of the Anti-Slavery Society and editor of The Liberator, and by his father, who never permitted the wealth which he acquired as builder of the Northern Pacific Railroad to dim his zeal in espousing the liberal cause, constantly advanced by The Nation and The Post, which he owned, and left to his militant son.

The recent Presidential directive forbidding discrimination in agencies of the United States Government, reminds us that it was Villard who publicly denounced such discrimination in Government bureaus, during the Wilson administration.

We in the ranks of the older fighters, who remain to mourn the loss of leaders such as Oswald Garrison Villard and Hallie Quinn Brown, must do more than close ranks. We must hold fast to the hands of the mature generations now working shoulder to shoulder with us, taking over old tasks, engaging in new adventures and dreaming new dreams. We must not begrudge them this taking over, but must continue to give of our active best, while we are yet here to help carry on the good fight for freedom, and open the doors to world brotherhood, blessed and guided by the wisdom of those who have served well and have passed on!

MARY McLEOD Bethune



Unnoticed, Unsung, Women Do A Big Job Quietly in World

OH, THESE women who have carved careers out of adversity, and helped to push forward the progress of their people while meeting the needs of loved ones! How I admire them!

So much has been said about them, and so little that reflects understanding of the job they are doing.

It has become fashionable to glamourize the private lives of those who have come into public notice, so that what they wear, and how they do their hair and what they eat get more attention than what they do and what they are!

It may be well that some women, like their husbands, sons and brothers, who graciously accept pay checks at the end of each week or each month, do other things besides work. Perhaps they relax at the theatre, or with some hobby, or with friends. Let us hope that they do!

What a sorry world this would be if our public women went about down-at-the-heels, unattractively dressed, solemn-faced doers of duty! Our men, I am sure, would be the first to complain.

And the men who clamor so loudly, from time to time, for the return of our women to the firesides! You know, my readers, they really would be hard put to it to pay the rent or buy the home, educate the children, and maintain even the most modest standards of living, if their cries were heeded, and working wives and mothers retired to the shelters of their homes, as so many would like to do. How happy many would be to bake the pies, wash their clothes, scrub their floors and tend to family needs in the daylight hours. So many are obliged to do these tasks at night, or on Sundays—their day of rest—after working long hours away from home!

I suppose that it bolsters the ego of the male of the species to swagger and strut about women; to lean on them, and to cover up their leaning with "big talk," for fear that someone will discover that they do not walk alone—that they are not self-sufficient.

But you know, unless history has led us sadly astray, men have never been self-sufficient. It is just that society now recognizes what has always been a fact. The veil has been fully lifted.

The intellectual equality of women has been admitted, and they have achieved the right to contribute their skills to the lives of their families and their communities, and to share fully and without discrimination in the guidance of the common welfare, through politically and economic equality. So there are cries of alarm. Democracy is sometimes hard to take!

Blessed is the woman whose husband, or son or father pays the household bills, by being President of the United States, pastor of that big church, or porter in a sleeping car. She can do much.

Blessed also is she who manages a business, teaches in a classroom, directs a public service, or cleans cars in the railroad yards, while she raises the children, keeps the home together and helps support the church. In modish attire or dungarees, she is doing a good job.

Hats off to our working women, whatever their "careers." May their men-folk and their children do as well!

MARY McLEOD Bethune



Calls Upon Plain Citizens To Keep New Party Chairmen Abreast Of Times

THE TASK of selecting new chairmen for their national committees has recently faced both of the Nation's major political parties. One—the chairman of the Republican National Committee—has already been chosen. The chairman of the Democratic Committee will very likely have been chosen by the time this column reaches its readers.

Both Mr. Gabrielson, the newly-elected Republican chairman, and his Democratic opposite have real work ahead, for, as the **Plain Citizen**s increasingly aware, campaigning—carrying to the prospective voter an offer of legislative support for his expressed needs and desires—is very much easier than introducing and securing passage of the legislation to which candidates or parties are committed, once elections are over, and the needs—and the voters—await the promised action.

We voters need to be both active and attentive, and to concern ourselves both with what the national committees are doing, and with what our representatives in the Congress are doing, to give to us those things which were decided on prior to the elections—things such as public housing, acceptable Federal aid-to-education, provisions for health and welfare, home rule for the Capital at Washington.

We must concern ourselves because, by whatever names they may be called, by friend or foe, these movements spell progress, provided they are undergirded with good, honest legislation—sixteen full ounces to the pound! Let us be watchful lest superficial or amended-to-death bills leave us with only the husks of the measures which we have given our votes to advance.

There is much encouragement for the voter, if somewhat less for the national committees, in the fact that outstanding leaders of both major parties stand committed to the support of much basic, worthwhile legislation. If that made campaigning more difficult, it should also make adherence to pre-election pledges less difficult, and in so far as these are similar, the voter should be the gainer from the progressive trends on both sides of the aisle in the Congress.

I do not know whether we are moving toward a one-party system, as some have suggested, or whether, by spreading out to more of the electorate more of the benefits of this great, modern country we are being less ruggedly American than our forebears, who did, with their bare hands and with crude equipment what we now do so much more productively and efficiently and pleasantly with the new tools and techniques of our day.

I do know that we live in a changing world in which studying by the light of a log burning in a fireplace is no longer either necessary or desirable; that "getting along with a mid-wife," or suffering injuries stoically, for lack of proper medical care is short-sighted rather than admirable—not an addition to National virtues, but an undermining of the Nation's strength and a decrease of man-hours needed for industrial and agricultural production.

I know that I cannot "do with" what my parents "did with" and successfully meet the competition of today's world—and no more can my children or grandchildren, or those of my neighbors, live decently or democratically under such patterns. I know that the many must have decent wages for buying-power, and adequate education for thinking-power, if we are to progress as individuals or as a Nation.

I revere the memory of my parents, but I do not live in their time, nor have I any desire to do so. Their efforts helped to produce the progress which I enjoy. In their day and generation they strove for that. Each new generation must move forward—and in its own way—profiting but not bound, by the customs and traditions of the past.

The late Julius Rosenwald was so wonderfully far-sighted and understanding when he established the Rosenwald Fund with the proviso that it must be liquidated within a generation of its founding—that the hand of the dead, guided by the thinking of its own generation, should not reach out to stifle the growth of later day living.

Yes, both political parties, seemed, very fortunately, to be fully aware of the implications of progress, as they sought our support, in 1948. Now, with new minds at the helm of both national committees, we voters must be ever alert, ever ready with our help—as individuals and as organizations—holding up the hands of progress, standing undaunted behind all sound legislation, letting no catchwords confuse or deter us, keeping our thinking straight and our issues clear; making our judgment known to those whom we have placed in positions of political—of legislative power.

MARY McLEOD Bethune



A Double Date In Dixie Gives Quick View Of Southern Progress

FROM GREENVILLE, South Carolina, to Greenwood, in the heart of the Mississippi Delta, is seven hundred miles. This month, seventy-four years young, I drove night and day to make this trip, because I had long ago promised the people in both these places that I would meet and talk with them on important local occasions.

I had to keep my word, and I was well rewarded. For in these two communities of the Deep South, in states which do not always come readily to mind when one thinks of brotherhood and goodwill between men of differing races, and nationalities and faiths, I found, in this month of Christmas, amazing evidence of peace on earth.

I would not have missed either of those appointments had the distance between them been twice as far. I still marvel at what I witnessed!

In South Carolina, my native state, I spoke at the dedication of a high school for Negroes. That school, which cost half a million dollars of taxpayers money'—all kinds of taxpayers—was spacious and beautiful. It had every facility for culture and training—fine recreation rooms, cafeteria, auditorium, elevators, finely-equipped classrooms. It was a fine school in terms of American education—for people; not just for Negro people!

People came from miles around. All the officials of the public school system; the welfare people, the ministers of that community were there. A thousand more white citizens would have come in if they could have found standing room. As it was, black and white were seated throughout the audience. There was no separation. I had to pinch myself to realize that this was happening in the state of my birth—in a state frequently and with justice, called "backward.' Yet, here was brotherhood. Here was justice in a fair and unpatronizing distribution of educational funds.

Superintendent of Schools Loggins and Principal Beck may well feel proud of their community and of their leadership. Part of that community which impressed itself on me was the beautiful home where I was a guest—in itself a demonstration that we, as a race, are moving in rapidly increasing numbers, out of the cabins and the huts and the depressed environments, into areas of cultured living.

It was a glorious afternoon! I came away filled with hope. Truly, out of darkness and ignorance and poverty, the black man, and his white brother, are finding their way!

All seven hundred miles across to the Mississippi Delta, I mused on this miracle—only to encounter another at the end of the journey. There to meet me at the great conclave of Masons, Eastern Stars and Heroines of Jericho, at Greenwood, Mississippi, were Grand Master Gilliam and his grand officers. People were there from eighty-eight counties—poised, well-groomed. I had to press my way to the rostrum through masses of people who had arrived four hours ahead of time to see and hear me.

The oratorical contest which was a part of the program might as easily have been in New York or Illinois or Massachusetts—or any of the fortunate places where the people have had the light for many generations.

It was glorious to listen as those young people interpreted the Constitution of the United States and its relationship to the citizenry of this country. It was a glorious privilege to be able to carry one ray of light to these people so representative of the millions waiting for help in finding the next step.

Greenwood, Mississippi, was an appointment with Destiny. And we must learn to recognize Destiny when it comes our way. It was the new brotherhood reaching out, asking to be heard! Our white citizens had their rest rooms open—did everything they could to give assistance and show courtesy. The long, hard years of sacrifice by Mississippi educators and leaders have not been in vain. A note of hope and determination to cooperative effort is coming from the fields they have sown.

Let us despise neither Bethlehem nor the Inn. wherever we may find them. The Spirit of Christmas has come to me, this year, like a great light, from out of Mississippi—from out of South Carolina!

"—AND ON EARTH. PEACE!"

MARY McLEOD Bethune



Progress Made By The Race Symbolizes U. S. Democracy

A HUNDRED years and more, ago, while Davy Crockett, the old Indian fighter, was a member of our fledgling Congress, he once remarked about himself,

"When a man rises from a low degree to a place he ain't used to, such a man starts the curiosity of the world to know how he got along."

It seems to me that in Colonel Crockett's matter of fact comment we have the real American story in one, brief sentence. The world was curious to know then, and is feverishly eager to know, now, how people "get along" in a country where a man or a woman may rise "from a low degree to a place he ain't used to."

Those were marvelous days—timeless and understandable as we read of them, now. There was our backwoodsman, Congressman Crockett, saying his say, being heard, being recognized, among lawmakers with all kinds of backgrounds. There were Calhoun and Clay and Adams and Webster, and the President, Andrew Jackson—as homespun as Crockett, himself—toughly leading them all.

They were days of significance—one of The **Liberator**, of the founding of Chicago, of the first American railroad, of the apearance of the national idea as opposed to the "states rights" idea. Men were feeling their way ahead, arguing—freely.

We are doing these same kinds of things, today, and it is a little hard, sometimes, for our neighbors elsewhere in the world to understand us, our Andrew Jacksons and Davy Crocketts and Frederick Douglasses — our unceasing battles for righteous causes. Our underprivileged who acquire great standing and influence, without acquiring with these, a vengeful determination to grind all opposition under heel!

It is hard for them to see that, whatever our momentary handicaps and set-backs as groups or as individuals, we, in America, whoever we are and wherever we are, are always on our way to greater growth—to becoming something better. And there is nothing to stop us!

The Negro in America, today, is both, its largest and most conspicuous minority. Many of us have "gotten along" to places "we ain't used to," in a manner that perplexes and astonishes our neighbors in other lands, more than backwoodsmen Presidents and Congressmen ever did.

Today, it is the Negro, moving into fields new to him, who symbolizes American democracy—American processes of trial and error; of willingness to understand one's neighbor; of disagreement without hatred; of changing with the times.

Those who have "gotten along" up the road to high places—the men and women who are setting the pace, giving and taking, sturdily, alertly, but without malice—are carrying on in the tradition of America. And they understand, fully, that theirs is the burden, not only, as still disadvantaged Americans, of catching up with the times, or, as other Americans, of adapting to the times, but of bearing witness for the kind of life which they have for so long struggled to make their own.

Because they and their forebears have endured more for democracy than most of their fellow-citizens, they value it more; they study it more intently—how to preserve it, how to extend it, how to share it. So that today, they have become, for a watching, curious and eager world, both measurement and symbol of American democracy.

LILLIAN SMITH, JEFFERSON COLLEGE SIGNS OF GROWTH IN THE SOUTH.

Last week Iwas amazed to see prominently displayed in the press of the Nation, the proposal of a rich man in Texas to heavily endow an institution for the training of impressionable, high-school age youth, in exchange for being permitted to twist and shackle their minds.
The shackling and distortion were to be accomplished through the rewriting of the school's charter to exclude as students or as teachers, those of African or Asiatic descent.
This discreditable offer was made to Jefferson Military Academy in Southwest Mississippi, a school established a century and a half ago, ~~for the sons~~

for the sons of "Southern gentlemen." The school has fallen upon hard times. It needs funds. The millionaire wanted to underwrite it as a school "for white Christians only," to avoid "mongrelization" of the "American race."

Looking about us, it is a little difficult, at this point, to see how any one can become frantic about "racial purity." Insistence on legalized integregation would be a much more logical step. Certainly it would be a step that gave more evidence of a desire for social stabilization and of the development of social responsibility.

It would indicate a readiness to take miscegenation out of the realm of the back-yard temptation of which Lillian Smith writes with such rare insight and honesty, in her latest volume, "Killers of the Dream."

For when we take away the premium arbitrarily placed on the empty fact of being white, the "improved standing and self-respect" among Negroes, referred to by Edwin Embree, will operate to mightily resist miscegenation, outside the bonds of marriage.

America's millions of "mixed" Negroes will be able to view with equanimity this latest feeble offshoot from the gnarled and withering plant of Southern pretentions to racial sanctity, and its thorny old companion, "white supremacy." We all know, with increasing sureness, that these plants do not have much longer to bear their bitter fruit.

Strong, new plants have struck root in the South. I thanked God when the news came out of Mississippi that the struggling, impecunious little Delta school had turned away the fifty million dollars offered for its self-respect. It is true that Jefferson Academy does not yet admit Negroes, but progress has been made. Resistence to any prejudice means, in the end, resistance to all prejudice.

I seriously doubt that the announced plans to found, in Texas, a university amenable to the restrictive stipulations of the donor, will be easily fullfilled. The South is growing.

Lillian Smith is a symbol of that growing South. And sturdy, clear-thinking, humanity-respecting Southerners like her are becoming more numerous and more vocal every day—aping no one, facing problems squarely, helping to build a strong America.

Texas is once again a battleground. There, in spite of official insistence on segregation, youth is daily turning its back on empty tradition, and is moving into new and more honest social and intellectual pathways of its own.

The "American race"—bred of every race under the sun—is squaring its shoulders! The people of the South have their feet on the path to freedom!

REFLECTIONS ON GIVING UP THE GAVEL OF THE NCNW TO ANOTHER.

We are rapidly approaching what will be the epoch-making convention in the life of the National Council on Negro Women, up to this point. Bith, men and women all over America and in neighboring foreign countries, are looking forward to this convention with great hope and concern for the next step that will follow it.

These men and women have followed our step-by step progress with intense interest through these fourteen years. They belong to the great mass of people from all walks of life whom NCNW was created to serve.

Now, we women of the Council are all reflecting-gearing ourselves to the tasks of transition in leadership and possibly in program- trying to find our strong points and reinforce them; our weak points to eliminate them, that a united group such as ours may face the needs of the hour squarely, and meet them competently.

This convention will be a fact-finding and working convention. We are moving forward with open minds, ready for the consideration of all suggestion and criticism that may find its way to us through whatever channel of interest it may come.

We must realize, more and more that our task here does not call for soloists, but for one glorious, harmonious chorus. The leader must have a soul and a vision, not of the tree that stands before us, but of the forest. I am looking forward to the coming of the women-from the North, the South, the East and the West, with a spirit of humility and gratitude for the opportunity we have had of serving together. The women are coming to select from among them that woman who is embued with the spirit of service- who has the real undergirding philosophy-"Not for Myself, but for others!" That must be the stake of those who come after, as it has been my stake. Whatever success has come to me, whatever keys to open doors have been mine, have been used, not for personal advancement, but for my women, my girls-for others. Whatever I have been able to

achieve, has been achieved because theworld has made a beaten path to my door of humble service, in whatever realm I have been placed. I have hoed my row! The old cotton wallets have been hung up in the old log cabin barns. The tasks performed here and there have been considered of worthy commendation, and for that I am grateful. For we all carry a smile upon our faces and a joy upon our hearts, When those who have watched us can say, with simple honesty, "Well done!"

As I lay down the gavel of public administration , may our beautiful women feel moved to enter into one grand chorus, and cry aloud together, "She has done her work! I am conscious that I have tried.

I am standing now, beckoning them on, praying that they have the consecration and courage and rounded preparedness, which so many of them already possess. For from among them, some one, strong woman of vision must step forward and take the torch!

We look forward, not backward. I have no fear for the future of NCNW. I have a deep abiding faith in the ability and consecration of our women to carry on; to make permanent the work we have striven to do together.

May they come with humble spirits. "He who would be greatest"- must be willing to serve.

Defender
Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 10-29-49

MARY McLEOD Bethune



United Nations Day Is Renewal Of Our Faith In Peaceful World

Four years have passed since the United Nations took form at San Francisco, as a final, cooperative effort of many nations to maintain "peace in our time."

"To affirm our faith" in the ability of this council of the nations of the world as "a living force for solving the major problems" of its people, the President of the United States, in concert with the heads of governments the world over, has proclaimed October 24, as UNITED NATIONS DAY.

We are reminded that October 24, is the anniversary of the day on which the United Nations Charter was fully ratified and became active, and that the UN Assembly first established the date as UN Day, in 1947.

Now, in 1949, this body, approved by a majority of the nations of the world, is making a "Report to the People" of all lands—the people on whose support depends its continued existence and increased effectiveness. Nations around the globe will join in taking the story of the United Nations to their people, on this fourth anniversary of its active service—each country presenting the story in its own way.

Here in the United States, a National Citizens Committee for United Nations Day, under the chairmanship of Malcolm W. Davis, Associate Director of the Carnegie Endowment's European Center at Paris, is working very hard, through organizations of all kinds, through mayors' committees, churches and schools, to make this country "United Nations conscious."

I am happy and honored to be one of that committee; so many of its members are fellow-Americans well-known over many years for their devoted service to their nation: Dr. Everett Clinchy, president of the National Conference of Christians and Jews; Dr. J. M. Bracy, who heads the Fraternal Council of Negro Churches, President Frederick Eliot of the American Unitarian Association, Mrs. John Hayes, president of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, President Arthur B. Spingarn of the NAACP, President James Patton of the Farmers Union, Presidents Murray and Green of the CIO and the American Federation of Labor, Dowdal Davis of the Negro Newspaper Publishers, our good friends Miss Anna Lord Strauss of the League of Women Voters and Mrs. Harper Sibley of the United Council of Church Women—and many more.

All of us are banded together to carry the United Nations to the doorstep of every American community—every American home; for our first responsibility is to our local communities In Brattleboro, Vermont, a typical small city, the American Legion, the public schools, the library, the Lions, Girl and Boy Scouts, the Council of Churches, the Adult Education authorities and the Recreation Department are joining in an observance that will include school assemblies, library exhibits, a flag contest, and a newspaper column in which will appear letters and stories by children, on "How the United Nations Works for Me." United Nations Day headquarters at 700 Jackson pl., N. W., Washington, D. C., will supply local leaders, on request, with two leaflets—"The Meaning of United Nations Day" and "Suggestions for Community Activities," as long as limited resources permit. Possibly you have already read the article, "U. N. Is Doing a Job," in the July 9, issue of Collier's Magazine. It is an enlightening and encouraging article,

As members of a racial minority we have much to gain from every action or proposed action of the United Nations, as its delegates from around the world recognize disabilities and inequities and plan for their elimination.

We cannot know too much about the United Nations and its work. We were conscious of it, last year, when the heroic efforts begun by the martyred Count Bernadotte saved us from total war in the Near East. Those efforts were pointed up by the fact that his successor, Acting Mediator Ralph Johnson Bunche, who emerged as the hero of that effort, was one of "our own"—a young scholar whom we had watched coming up through the ranks. The newly-elected president of the fourth United Nations Assembly, General Carlos P. Romulo, is a Filipino.

The growing influence of the United Nations is lifting the clouds that have obscured our horizons. Let us give our best effort to making America's part in this world-wide observance of United Nation's Day a meaningful one. Let us make October 24, this year and every year, a day on which "to affirm our faith" in the future.

MARY McLEOD Bethune



The Work Of Dr. Mary Evans In Chicago Provides Inspiration

ONE OF the most heart-warming experiences I have had in a long time came while I was spending two weeks of rest in Chicago, recently under observation of my medical specialist. I had the opportunity of quietly and thoughtfully observing and evaluating the work that is being done by Dr. Mary Evans.

Dr. Evans has a church and community center that is a model in deep, sincere, humble spirituality in organization and execution. It is dedicated to mental, moral, spiritual and recreational development in a way that is superb.

The first things to attract me were the bulletin boards flanking the entrance walkway. One of them was glass encased, and in it was an opened Bible. It was turned to the twelfth chapter of Hebrews. For the thousands of passersby —many of whom have had no time to read the Bible since their mothers taught them to say "Now I lay me down to sleep"—here was an opportunity to see the written Word. Some lingered for a moment to read a verse or many verses. Some read the whole chapter. I thought what a marvelous thing it was that the seed should be placed where fertile soil could come to it.

Then I saw Dr. Evans' study. The quietude impressed me—as did the little altar, the religious reference books, and the roll of 800 or more members at which she glanced from day to day with a special utterance for their rounded growth.

Elsewhere there were board rooms, rest rooms and study rooms. Over the pulpit hung a great cross, giving a feeling and understanding of the spirit of worship.

On my way from the church to the community center, I came across more than a hundred children. They had blocks and tables and chairs and a piano. They and their teachers were so busy—studying at the blackboards, singing their work songs and their prayer hymns. The sight awakened in me a further realization of the worthwhileness of building lives and investing in lives.

And all this is free! There is no tuition. I asked Dr. Evans where the money came from. She said—"Oh, Mrs. Bethune, we tithe here. Eighty-eight per cent of my membership are tithers. We give. And God broadens the channels. From this source and that source and the other source, it flows in. We depend on Him for the supply, and it comes."

I talked to the children in their childish language about the beauty of life. I told them of the wonderful teacher who years ago said "Suffer the little children to come unto me and forbid them not." Then I asked if anyone could tell me who that teacher was. A bright eyed little boy threw up his hand. "It's Miss Cooper," he said.

Miss Cooper is their head teacher. I, of course, was referring to the Christ. I told them how beautiful it was that in their little hearts they could think of Miss Cooper as the Great Teacher. She and her associates are exposing them to the rays and sunshine that will make them wholesome men and women.

Then I went through the marvelous health center and clinic on the second floor. There are also conference rooms and an auditorium. All are available free of charge. On the third floor are offices available for rent by doctors and other professional people. Across the street, all part of this great center, is a fully equipped and supervised playground.

Oh, I remember some years ago when Mary Evans was much younger than she is now—and I was, too. We met during a meeting of the National Association of Colored Women at Wilberforce. As a sparkling-eyed young woman, she looked at me and said—"I'm going to preach. I am going to give my life to that field as you are giving yours to the field of education."

How fully and successfully she has given it!

I pay tribute to Mary Evans and her leadership. I thank God, as I view her work, that I, too, am a woman. As women, we have heard that [illegible] commission—'Go tell them!" We are trying.

I pray that the people of Chicago—the business men, the society women, the big and little people will realize the great work that Mary Evans and her little congregation are doing, and will send in the streams of supplies to help carry on.

As long as younger women like Mary Evans hold high the torch in the direction she is carrying it, old pioneers and worn out workers like myself can more rapidly fold their tents and calmly watch the march of progress as it goes by!

MARY McLEOD Bethune

The People, The Land, The Economy Of Haiti A Revelation—Bethune



THIS VISIT to the Republic of Haiti has turned another page in my life. I feel as though I had been born again — that the country, the people, the closeness to ourselves, are things of which, I, personally, am now a part. I believe that every American of Negro descent who comes to Haiti to see and understand, will share the feeling of oneness that comes over me, as I see in the faces of the black officials of this republic, the realization of the prayers and sacrifices and yearnings of the black people of the world.

My party was graciously greeted at the Port-au-Prince airport, in the late afternoon of July 12, by Jean Brierre, Undersecretary of State for Tourism, Giles Hubert, Agricultural Attache at the American Legation, and Mme. Fortuna Guery, Inspector General of Education, at the end of an interesting flight across the Caribbean, Cuba and Jamaica.

Since that time my days have been spent in a series of conferences with government officials, in partaking of the many courtesies extended to us, and in observing Haitian life as it moves about us.

At the beautiful National Palace of Haiti I have conferred with fine, far-seeing President Dumarsais Estime and with his lovely, eager young wife; with Minister of Foreign Affairs Timoleon Brutus, and the Minister of Education M'sieur Vieux, and have consulted and conversed at length with the American Ambassador, William de Courcy and his aides, both at the legation and at the beautiful embassy overlooking the capital. These conversations and conferences have been of great help to me in later meetings with the people as they moved about their daily occupations and concerned themselves with after-work interests.

We visited the thriving Haitian-American Dry Cleaners, operated by the young American James Plinton; listened to the semi-bartering at the Iron Market and the People's Market; talked with the hotel personnel and watched the peasants cultivating by hand their little hillsides on the steep mountainsides.

We found some grand women, here, giving outstanding leadership — Mme. Estime, to whom we extended a life membership in the National Council of Negro Women; Mme. Guery, Inspector General of Education; Mme. Alice Garout, President of the Women's League and many others. How greatly they have stirred my

soul!

We have been the recipients of many courtesies since we have been here — the reception in my honor tendered by the President of the Republic and Madame Estime; a lovely luncheon at the American Embassy as the guests of Ambassador and Mrs. de Courcy; a reception by the Minister of Education and Mme. Vieux; another by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Mme. Brutus. Through the kindness of many friends we have visited the Writers and Artists Association; the Art Center; the hospital; the Colleges of Medicine, Dentistry, Law and Agriculture. We have visited agricultural and industrial projects and observed in the market places. We have visited the Haitian Congress The Minister of Education has decorated me at beautiful ceremonies.

The people of Haiti have not reached their full development. They are still feeling their way. They do not have all the answers to democratic living. Neither do we of America. But Toussaint L'Ouverture and those who died with him, if they could see what I am seeing today would realize that they did not die in vain. The basic foundation has been laid. In my judgement, reinforcement for economic and educational growth, is the crying need of Haiti, today

We have been pleasantly situated here, in a charming suite at the Hotel Aux Orchidees—a white stone structure very much like the private villas, with flower-laden balconies, colorful tiled floors and terraces, opening on walled gardens. A wonderfully restful and peaceful atmosphere.

I LOVE HAITI! I LOVE HER PEOPLE!

MARY McLEOD Bethune



Believes That Home Rule For The District of Columbia Concerns All

LAST MONTH I observed my seventy-fourth birthday. Seventy-four years is a long time in the life of an individual and in the life of a nation. Three generations of Americans have come to adulthood in those years — to the mature life of what should be full citizenship. Inventive genius has made a giant of American industry, and changed the whole face of social development the world over. More and more, governments for the people have changed to governments by the people.

But Washington — the District of Columbia — capital of 115 million of the most progressive people in the world, has remained, through these generations, harnessed, governmentally, to the horse-and-buggy era of the gentlemen who voted its present franchise law form on June 20, 1874.

These legislators of the earlier days before American invention had fathered modern living, had just passed through a period of great tensions and apprehensions — the era to which we refer as Reconstruction. It was the beginning of the period which saw the withdrawal of Federal troops from the southern states and the beginning of the Solid South. Thought about the Federal City of 109 thousand souls, reflected the times, and in turn was reflected in the frightened withdrawal of democratic government from the people of the city — lest application of the precepts of democracy should give to all the people of the Federal City an equal share in their government.

The census prior to the disfranchisement of the District showed a population, within its boundaries, of 73,731 whites and 35,455 Negroes — slightly over a two-to-one ratio. But there was great fear of "Negro domination," whatever that might mean. Presumably, it meant that Negroes were sufficiently numerous to hold the balance of power in some sections of the city, should they vote en bloc, and in that event might be elected to some city office to which they, like all other citizens, were entitled.

There was, of course, the fact that the undemocratic Negro ghettoes of the District were so honey-combed throughout its length and breadth that voting as a unit was impossible. But the bogey of race compounds its evil and perpetuates itself wherever men are deprived of the right to a voice in their government.

The Disfranchisement of Washington took place in 1874 — the year before I was born. Now, in my seventies, with my hair snow-white, and great grandchildren at my knee, the capital of my country — the capital of the world — with a population of three-quarters of a million and more, is still disfranchised. The population is now, roughly, one-third Negro. The city is still honey-combed with the inhabited alleys built and maintained by greedy exploitation of the unfortunate. It is still ridden with fear that democracy means what it says — that under representative government, the people of the Federal City would begin again to live democratically, if given the opportunity, after a lapse of three-quarters of a century.

On August 19, the House District committee as a whole, called into session by its chairman, supported its subcommittee and again tabled the home-rule measure, thus defeating the democratic process of hearing and abiding by the will of the majority. There are other home-rule bills pending, some like and some differing substantially from the Kefauver bill.

Let us show that we know the meaning of democracy and are worthy of it. Let every voter, individually and through his organizations, see that, through his elected representative, action is taken to start a discharge petition which will take this bill out of the hands of the committee, this coming session, and send it directly to the floor of the House for action.

A discharge petition must carry 218 signatures — a majority of the House membership. See that the signature of your congressman is among them when Congress reconvenes.

Let us have an end to this farce at Washington! We are spending millions to shore up the Capitol and rebuild the White House. Let us spend our energies rebuilding the practice of democracy at the center of democracy. These are days of action. Three-quarters of a century is long enough to wait! If the present bill is inadequate, its weaknesses should be pointed out in debate and a better bill brought up. But the application of the principle of home-rule to the District of Columbia, must no longer be delayed.

MARY McLEOD Bethune



The Filibusterers And Other Foes Of Anti Lynching Helped Kill Bill

The Defender, Chicago, Ill.

Last week I wrote about some of the landmarks of progress in our fight for justice, freedom and full citizenship. I was sincere. I do believe we should take stock from time to time to strengthen us for the struggles still before us. Feb. b-25-49

I am not complacent, however. And I hope you are not. How can we be when Caleb Hill has been lynched?

I do not know Caleb Hill. I had never heard his name until the newspapers reported his lynching in Georgia. I don't know whether he was an upright citizen or a dangerous criminal. I don't know whether he was a husband or father. But I do know he was a mother's son, be she living or dead. He was a human being and an American, in the supposed protective custody on the law, innocent until he could be proven guilty.

My heart grew heavy when I read of the heinous crime that snuffed out the life of Caleb Hill. A life snuffed out because some man or men with white faces decided to take the law into their own hands. I can think of nothing more inconsistent with American principles of justice and fair play.

I know that apprehension and punishment of the criminals who murdered Caleb Hill will not bring him back to life. If his mother is living; apprehension and punishment of the criminals will not erase her grief. But previous experience has shown that we shall probably see neither apprehension nor punishment of the criminals who murdered Caleb Hill. Georgia has an unsavory reputation in similar forerunners of the Caleb Hill lynching. Other states, too, have failed to mete out impartial justice in such cases. Feb. b-25-49

The black mark, however, is not confined to Georgia or these other states. The crime of lynching is a smear on America. It is a national crime, no matter where it is committed, no matter how infrequently. But there is no national law that makes the crime punishable. These facts deepen the hurt and the grief over Caleb Hill's murder.

Somehow, it seems part of the guilt for Caleb Hill's murder rests on the shoulders of men who filibuster and finagle to prevent the Senate of the United States from passing an anti-lynch bill. Such a bill has been favorably reported by the Senate judiciary committee. That has happened before.

Will it pass? Will it be filibustered? Will the filibuster be broken? Will an unholy alliance in the Senate contrive to make it a political football? Will Caleb Hill's murder serve no purpose? Or must America stand accused before the world for another inhuman atrocity and yet do nothing about it?

Part of the responsibility for what the Senate does also rests on **you!** Does your Senator have evidence in writing of how you feel about the way he should vote on cloture to kill a filibuster and on passage of an anti-lynch bill?

DR. BETHUNE, LIKE JACKIE, HITS RUSSIA

Cleveland Call & Post Feb. 5-49

Atlanta, Ga.

RALEIGH, N. C.—(INS)—The nation's number one Negro woman educator joined the nation's number one Negro baseball player in saying what she thinks about Russia.

Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, president emeritus of Florida's Bethune-Cookman College, said:

"We must join hands to work out the injustices in society and we'll ask no outsiders to help us.

"We're going to send our soiled clothes to our own laundry and not to France, Germany, or to Russia. We'll stand together as Americans."

Two weeks ago, Jackie Robinson, famed second baseman for the Brooklyn Dodgers, told the House un-American Activities Committee that there were thingh that Negroes didn't like in America but that they didn't need Russia's help.

He was calle before the committee to refute an assertation by Negro singer Paul Robeson that American colored people would not support a war against the Soviet Union.

MARY McLEOD Bethune



Cites Figures To Disprove Basic Assumption Of Barden School Bill

THE Barden Federal Aid-to-Education Bill is an excellent example of the type of legislation for which we must be constantly on guard—legislation that serves the letter of the law, while doing violence to its spirit. Jan. 30-49

Unfortunately, the bill introduced by Representative Graham A. Barden (D., N. C.), and at this writing, still in subcommittee, very definitely fails to meet the spirit of impartial federal aid to education for all Americans.

The words of the bill protect the rights of the several states to handle their own affairs, with the laudable objective of keeping the base of democracy widely spread among the people of this greatest of democracies. But the words of the bill assume that democratic practice at state and local levels will safeguard the interests of the individual citizen without distinction as to race, creed or color.

We Americans who belong to a generally identifiable racial minority, wish that we could freely subscribe to such an assumption, in the light of documented experience. How we wish that it were possible to consider, without grave apprehension, the provision, in the Barden Bill, that money paid under it shall "become funds of the State to which it is paid," without precautionary controls of any kind.

But here, in my adopted State of Florida, in 1946, for instance, 61 dollars was spent for the education of each Negro child, but more than twice that—134 dollars — was spent for each white child. In Alabama, 37 dollars spent by the State for a Negro child, compared with 85 dollars spent by that State for each white child. Mississippi thought that a Negro child could acquire the same education for 14 dollars that a white child could obtain only by the expenditure of 75 dollars. In Georgia, educational appropriations in 1946 were 31 dollars for each Negro child and 82 dollars for his white playmate.

In South Carolina, where I was born, and where I trudged, barefooted, for miles, to reach an inferior rural school, each Negro child was assigned 39 dollars for education, in 1946, while 100 dollars was so earmarked for each white child. In my native State, also, a Negro teacher was expected to be 64 percent brighter than a white teacher, since he or she, in 1946, was required to do, for 834 dollars, the same work that a white teacher did for 1,365 dollars. In Georgia, the racial-based disproportion in teachers' pay was 96 percent, and in Mississippi, 173 percent.

Now, the conclusion is inescapable, either that the authorities who distribute state funds believe that the Negro child is incapable of acquiring and using the same skills in which the white child—his fellow-American—is trained; or it is thought that he is two or three or four times as smart as his white brother, and therefore can accomplish the same things with one-fourth as much training; or, it is intended that inferior training shall eliminate coming generations of Negro youth as upper-bracket job competitors in a tightening economy; or else these authorities are deciding for us of the racial minorities, where we are going to live, what we are going to pay for rent, or for purchase of a house; how often we are going to have the services of doctor or dentist, and what kind of food we are going to eat—since all of these things take money and are predicated, primarily, on income.

I cannot accept this arbitrary control of my personal affairs, through the device of denying to me and mine, the education, through taxsupported schools, that will increase our economic security—that would enable us to pay, in the market, for the commodities or personal standard of living for all Americans.

We must have federal "tests and measurements." Somewhere there must be an enforceable yardstick. Both the President's Committee on Civil Rights and the President's Commission on Higher Education have called for such measures in their reports. Let us weigh these matters carefully.

MARY McLEOD

Bethune



Calls Haiti Symbol Of Attainable Freedom For Thousands Of Blacks

WHEN THIS column appears, I shall be in Haiti — in the "high country" of Toussaint L'Ouverture and his brave blacks — as the guest of the Haitian Government.

The prospect thrills me. Ever since L'Ouverture, general of the French army, fought the good fight to prevent reestablishment of slavery in Haiti, nearly a century and a half ago, the island Republic has been a spiritual haven to the oppressed of African descent. She has been a symbol of freedom to those, beyond her shores, who, possibly have met with material success, but have been spiritually frustrated by the barriers of a citizenship flouted, begrudged, or granted only in part, as they have sought to press forward toward the fuller life.

For all the limitations of her physical development, and in spite of her political vicissitudes, Haiti has been, for generations a symbol of attainable freedom for untold thousands. As early as 1841, little more than a decade after the reestablishment of the Haitian Republic, colonization of American Negroes, in Haiti, was proposed by Thomas Jefferson, because of his conviction that the West Indies were destined to

Long before the Civil War, Negroes, unsympathetic to the efforts of the American Colonization Society to colonize them in Africa, began to consider, seriously, the advantages of migration to shores closer in clime and distance to their American homeland. As many as two thousand American Negro emigrants, following the leadership of James Redpath and James T. Holly, went to Haiti before the outbreak of the Civil War.

But Haiti is still "virgin territory" — politically, economically, fraternally. The marvelous possibilities of this beautiful Caribbean republic are still largely untapped. Her fertile soil is capable of making great contributions to the food needs of the world and to her own commercial development. She has impressive mineral resources. Her agriculture, her industry, her commerce, lie fallow, ready for the plow of the pioneer. But greatest of all her resources are her three million citizens, unhampered by the accident of their color.

Four hundred and fifty-seven years ago, Columbus discovered Haiti. Now Haiti is discovering herself, and young Americans, men and women, with training, initiative and stick-to-itiveness, are coming to realize that here is a land of golden opportunity — gold in material wealth and in human relations — waiting for the trained mind and the trained heart to stimulate economic, cultural and spiritual growth.

The late Major R. R. Wright had this realization and for many years applied his great business talents to the promotion of agricultural exports from Haiti to Continental America. Young Mr. J. O. Plinton, whom I shall hope to see, is working out this realization in an industrial establishment. Giles Hubert, one of the newer members of our diplomatic corps, is advising the United States Legation, at Port-au-Prince, as Agricultural Attache.

I shall be talking with the people of Haiti. I want to counsel with her women — the great spiritual resource of any nation, to try to broaden the circle of women's relationships. I want to talk to the young leaders and see their vision —with the young artists who are making the world conscious of their country with paint and canvas. I want to talk with the elder statesmen and see Haiti, the beautiful still-to-be-developed republic, through their eyes. I am feverishly anxious to approach and to see in action on their own ground—amid their own surroundings—men of the darkest hue, with no barriers separating them from the highest posts their country has to offer. I want to help strengthen the fraternal bonds between this island country and Continental United States. There is much that each can teach the other.

My heart is full of gratitude to the Government of Haiti, and to Ambassador Joseph Charles through whom this visitation was extended to me, for making it possible for me to visit Haiti — "the high country" — and share, at first hand, the inspiration of her proud history and her great future.

MARY McLEOD Bethune

31a



Youth Is On The March, Let No One Stand In The Way

THESE are wonderful days! Youth—the young in age and spirit—are on the march, storming the citadels of education for all manner of training and skills—more determined than ever before to acquire that measure of competence, that basis for leadership, which they know they must have, to help mold their future.

With the slump in labor, the unrest among educators, the grimness in international relations, casting their shadows over the land, how encouraging it is to find such unmistakable signs that the seeds of progress and unity, sown through the years, are germinating. How encouraging to find youth probing, searching, stretching out hands, for a closer, basic understanding between man and man, between youth and age, between many peoples in many nations, in spite of the grimness among governments.

Some incident in this or another country may disappoint us, but we must permit nothing to discourage us. Youth is often impetuous, often unwise, often wrong. But youth has stamina and courage and perseverance. The strengthening of the basic philosophy of our marching youth—directing them to the tasks which they can best perform, is our responsibility, today.

For these are tomorrow's leaders. These are the men and the women who will carry the torch of progress further than we, whose march is nearly ended, have ever been able to do.

We rejoice in the growth of the free press that serves us all—that serves these marching youth—. We rejoice in its interpretation of significant events in this world of ours—at home and abroad. In spite of its blunders, of its errors of human judgment, we must protect its freedom to speak out—to the people and for the people.

We must watch, that youth on the march may grow more dependable, more loveable, more universal, that we have ever grown. We must watch lest they lose their bearings in the storms of hate and malice and segregation and discrimination.

These are the days for us to re-gear ourselves to the task—for standing up and being counted, wherever youth is being served.

I have been greatly disturbed and disappointed—but not discouraged—by the situations centering around the presidents of many of our large, state-supported colleges in the Southland, for these colleges—all colleges—are the great pumps that force the life-blood of new ideas, new processes of thought and action—new leadership—through the veins of the Nation. We must realize as never before, the importance of building leaders—and supporting them. There is no place for obstructionists of any color.

Youth is thinking. Youth is speaking. Youth is marching on to a New Day. The youth in age are joining hands with the young in outlook and in spirit, to hasten that Day. Let no one stand in their way!

MARY McLEOD Bethune

Oscar Chapman, New Cabinet Member, Is A Real Liberal

SO MANY TIMES we overlook, in our thinking, friends of sterling worth, because their modesty keeps them and much of their effort and achievement out of the spotlight that seems so readily to attach itself to others.

One such friend is Oscar Chapman, Undersecretary of the Interior, a member of the little Cabinet who has kept his sturdy idealism and integrity for American principles, through two decades of public service.

He is one of those rare people, a son of the South, devoted to its progress, who is able to evaluate its problems with complete objectivity. It is typical of this fine American, that, born the grandson of a Southern Virginia plantation owner, impoverished by the land division which accompanied Reconstruction, he recognized that division as just, and has fought, consistently, for the small-acreage farmer, in the Interior Department's land-use programs. Friends of child welfare will recall his work in the passage of child-labor legislation which took little children out of the beet fields of Colorado, his adopted state.

Mr. Chapman should be counted with Will Alexander of Chapel Hill, Aubrey Williams of the Southern Farmer, President Jim Patton of the National Farmers Union, and other unswerving liberals, who have made the cause of the underprivileged and the struggling small farmer their own.

America's racial minorities have found in him an understanding, forthright, courageous friend, unfailingly ready to work actively with them to correct injustice and to promote brotherhood.

Few may be aware that it was unassuming Oscar Chapman who stepped into the now famous Marian Anderson incident, ten years ago, sending the voice of the great contralto to her countrymen all over the land, from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, on that Easter Sunday morning, in affirmation of the principles of American democracy denied by the D.A.R. and the Board of Education of the Nation's Capital!

Still fewer may know that it was he who raised the funds for the beautiful Marian Anderson mural on the walls of the Department of the Interior, which perpetuates for posterity that unforgettable scene — that great lesson in democracy. Or again, it was Undersecretary Chapman who sponsored the George Washington Carver Memorial Committee.

Little by little Oscar Chapman is being discovered by the people whom he has served so valiantly through the years, with heart, mind and constructive works.

Americans, whatever their origin, can take well-founded pride in the unusual combination of moral and political leadership which he represents. It is this kind of leadership with which we of America must face the challenges and crises of the new day in world affairs.

MARY McLEOD **Bethune**



Mrs. Bethune Applauds Naming Of Hastie To U. S. Appeals Bench

I AM rejoicing, today, over the appointment of Governor William H. Hastie of the Virgin Islands, to be a judge in the appellate courts of Continental United States.

All of us would like to see "Bill Hastie" not only on a bigger job in the Federal District Courts, but on the bench of the United States Supreme Court—a place for which he is eminently fitted, and where, without doubt, he will one day sit. The years are creeping up on me now, and I hope that that day of crowning legal achievement will not be too-long delayed.

But in spite of our failure, at this point, to secure for us, the Negro citizens of America, the full recognition we have earned, I know that in the return of this tower of strength to these shores, we have won more than recognition.

When "Bill" went away, in 1946, to be Governor of the Virgin Islands, there were those who questioned the motives behind that appointment, saying that it was a move to take from the field of action, a "too-militant" American, by "booting him unstairs." Others regarded his new honor, his new task, his new responsibilities, as a signal opportunity to prove the administrative capacity of an American who happened to be of Negro or racially mixed descent.

The three years of Governor Hastie's conspicuously successful direction of an arduous job of territorial administration, have proved that capacity beyond doubt—if proof was necessary. And he has kept his hand stretched across the waters of the Caribbean, continuing to contribute to the constructive thinking of which he was so vital a part in Continental United States. We did not lose him. We made a distinct gain.

So, today, again, there are those who question the motives behind this latest appointment. Today, some are saying, "This is a demotion. They are taking away our only governor!" Others are saying that he should have been appointed to a bigger post.

We need never cease to contend for integration on all levels of social and official responsibility, through Governor Hastie or any other individual of great merit. But I sometimes wonder if we are overlooking the implications for progress, in over-zealously probing for motives.

I say that this man, William Hastie, has set for us a splendid record as governor, which cannot be challenged successfully. He will be back again where he can join actively, the ever-growing group of astute, well-informed shock troops who head our march to full citizenship.

No one need fear that the size of the job, or the limelight turned on it or away from it, will be a measure of the stature of the man. There will be no job too big to swallow Judge Hastie into obscurity, nor any small enough to dim the bright light of his fine mind, his personal charm, or his influence on his fellow-Americans.

Governor or judge, we know that he is among those who stand up to be counted when the going is rough!

Welcome home, worthy public servant and good friend!

MARY McLEOD **Bethune**



Mrs. Bethune Finds There's Not Enough Of Her To Get Around

THE flow of telegrams, long-distance calls and invitations of every imaginable sort across my desk have caused me to wish many times in these important and critical days that I could multiply myself a hundred times and that each one of the hundred of me might carry a message of hope at a time when we must realize that there is nothing to fear but fear itself.

Since I am but one, however, many of the demands being made upon me have to go unfulfilled. Those that I can answer still bring me rich experience, and I hope my contribution is as full. Last week was another such week.

In Boston, I spoke to 2,500 people at the opening of the Boston Union Methodist Church to Negroes. Bishops, heads of church administration, state officials, social and welfare workers throughout the area were there for the opening of this beautiful edifice and the launching of a program that might grow like the fertile grapevine, sending its branches beyond its own confines so that those who might pass may pluck the luscious fruit of inspiration and vision and spiritual undergirding and love. Dr. Egbert McLeod and his staff and followers demonstrated what can be done by united effort. The 2,500 people seemed thirsty and hungry for a note of hope and vision. I pray that that note was struck.

Down to New York I came where I sat with the heads of a number of organizations for two hours with Dr. Klein on the educational technique in Germany. We were helping to form a comparison with the educational work in our country. We found that the German people were simply designating who should go up and who should stay on certain educational levels. We felt it was a very undemocratic system.

Then I had a type of experience for which I can hardly express appreciation, at the dinner for Dr. Ralph Bunche. Thousands of people were packed into the great dining hall of the Waldorf-Astoria. The United Nations flag was in the background, and representatives of the UN were all around.

The homage paid an American who happened to be a Negro, who had done an outstanding work as a mediator in bringing together the people of Israel and the Arabs, was proof of the possibilities of integrated service that we have been longing for through the years. The statesmanship of Ralph Bunche himself, the unselfish and courageous service that he rendered without fear and without prejudice, will be a memorable milestone for all the world as the years go by. It was a glorious, crowning evening.

Then, I was called to a meeting in the Presser Building, on the 67th floor in the Cloud Club Room, with the National Association of Medical Fund. There were three women participating—Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, Anna Rosenberg and myself. There were also three Negroes—Dr. Benjamin Mays, Dr. F. D. Patterson, and myself. Our only living ex-President, Herbert Hoover, was the honorable chairman. The main address was given by Pennsylvania University President Harold Stassen. Emphasis was put on the importance of opening wider the doors for men and women in the field of medicine, dentistry and nursing. It was so inspiring, so forward-looking, that one really felt a new day was really and truly advancing.

RADIO STEREOTYPES

Not Every Colored Person Who Skins Back His Lips Is Tickled by 'Beulah'

By JOSEPH D. BIBB

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

RADIO is a very powerful propaganda medium. According to accepted figures, the average American citizen listens in on the theatres of the air for five hours a day.

There can be little doubt that presentations like the Beulah program, Amos and Andy, and the Pic and Pat Minstrel farce, actually contribute to racial prejudice. In most of such entertainment, colored Americans are stereotyped as simpletons, simpering fools, conniving rascals, or as shiftless, idiotic buffoons and clowns. Worse can be expected as television is on the boom.



Mr. Bibb

A critical, colored American recently released a stinging rebuke against the great firm of Procter and Gamble, sponsors of Amos and Andy. He wrote in Dabney's fiery Cincinnati Union that the great soap company, employing over a hundred thousand people in Cincinnati, virtually barred colored people from jobs in that plant. Let the King Fish, Amos, Andy, and the gibbering artists of color who appear on the Amos and Andy show every Sunday night, bear such accusations in mind. Right here is a glaring example of the attitude of certain "big business" toward the colored minority.

Hattie McDaniels' "Beulah Bunk," another "soft soap" presentation, brings before the vast unseen audience the "old mammy type," so dear to the hearts of the Dixiecrats, the Ku Klux Klan, and the opponents of decent citizenship for colored Americans.

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THERE ARE NUMEROUS other pungent, odoriferous programs whistling over the air lanes portraying colored people as ignorant, jumping jivesters, razz-ma-tazz fanatics, and exhorters of "dry bones in the valley."

Much to the shame of colored people, some of them, themselves, are projecting and financing ridiculous displays that mark and stamp them and their fellows in the category with the King Fish, Elder Eatmore, and the other loathsome characters, who provoke side-splitting laughter all over creation. A great tragedy is that many who grin, laugh and giggle, are laughing not with them, but at them.

Most unfortunate, is the fact that colored Americans rarely are presented in different categories. They are given little opportunity to display themselves in serious, intelligent roles. They are stereotyped, branded and stigmatized as second-class citizens.

Big business is behind a lot of these repugnant presentations. Already, the Communists have taken notice of these tendencies. Fellow travelers like William S. Gailmor and Johannes Steel, have spoken for the need of intelligent, serious, colored characters on the air. An organization styled the "Voice of Freedom," claims two thousand monitors, who check on the character of radio acts. It is also sparking a drive to get capable commentators of color on the air.

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"BOOGIE-WOOGIE" SHOWS, calculated to secure colored patronage in certain big cities, are being roundly scored and condemned. According to report, a movement has been launched in New York to contend for reformation of radio presentation.

Likewise in Chicago, some progress has been made toward changing the pattern. But Beulah, Amos and Andy, continue on, backed by sponsors who possess great wealth and affluence.

Politicians, who now seek to revitalize and rejuvenate the Republican party, had better take Big Business to task, for it cannot capture this minority vote by denying work to colored people and at the same time hold them up in ridicule and derision in their reactionary radio advertisements.

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JUST SUCH PRACTICES as these have given Paul Robeson a listening audience. That is why colored people lean toward those who hypocritically promise "civil rights," and first class citizenship. The political party of Big Business will never regain minority votes as long as it shows a penchant for dealing with them as if they were imbeciles and adolescents.

Not every colored person who skins back his lips, and bares his teeth, is really tickled by the King Fish, or Beulah. Deep down in his consciousness, there is a feeling of repulsion. There is a close proximity between laughter and tears. "Laugh, Clown, Laugh!"

Another prominent minority, the Jews, have, through the commendable agency of the Anti-Defamation League, been able to prevent their people from being presented in typical Shylock roles. With eagle eyes, the Jews watch and listen, with hands cupping their ears, to catch a stereotype. Smart people. Colored people shrug their shoulders and shuffle along. But deep down in their hearts, they despise the Beulah roles. Andrew Brown is no hero. They are just waiting for an opportunity to join in organized protest against such insults. They will get the chance ere long.

THAT WORD 'NEGRO'

As a 'Colored American' The Darker Minority Gains Stature With Other People

By JOSEPH D. BIBB

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

PERUSE through the classified advertising section of any white newspaper published above Dixie land, and observe how the ads read. Note that they express the wish for workers of the darker minority in this fashion: "Colored Help Wanted."

See how they seek to sell property: "For Sale — To Colored." Continue on with your search and see if you can find any instances where the ads read, "Negro Help Wanted."

Find some that set out desires in such forms as, "For Sale to Negroes." This commentator has analyzed the want ad columns of several scores of big city papers and has not found a single case where "Negro" has been used. It is almost always "colored."



Mr. Bibb

On the other hand in the news columns, in the editorials and features, the term "Negro" is the prevailing designation. Here is a definite clash in the practice of reporting and in the custom of advertising. The advertiser is desirous of getting returns" from his money.

A sort of a sixth sense leads him to know that the term "colored" breaks down sales resistance easier and quicker than "Negro" does.

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EDITORS AND PUBLISHERS for some queer reason, seem to overlook this distinction. If they have not, then they perhaps decided that the distinction is clumsy, inconvenient, and without profit. The reportorial conclusion, nonetheless, clashes harshly with the thinking of the advertiser. The advertiser, however, indirectly pays the salary of the reporter and it is he who accurately and shrewdly gauges what is good business.

Not long ago an article appeared in a leading magazine, published by white people, lauding the efforts of certain members of the colored press. The article was intended to be objective and critical. It was. But in spots, it was shallow, incomprehensive and superficial.

The author of that article frowned and scorned at the apparent "fumbling around" of certain scribes in finding manners and means of describing and delineating the darker minority. The scribe for the famous magazine took the position that it would be the part of better journalism for the colored reporters and feature writers to adopt the term "Negro" and call it a day. The space buyers, the ad men, think differently. Seldom, if ever, do they adopt the term "Negro." Maybe they have found out that it does not pay off.

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EXPERTS IN ADVERTISING do not use the term "colored" in their quest for business without definite, confirmed reason. They know that the term "Negro" carries with it unsavory implications. The word "Negro" does, most certainly, carry derogation with it.

Almost all of the dictionaries and encyclopedias define the term "Negro" in such fashion as to make it opprobious. Time after time, this scribe has presented his documented views on the subject. The defenders of the term have replied with wisecracks, quips, and cliches. None have given cogent, succinct or reasoned argument to support the use of the word "Negro."

Colored Americans continue on with the indiscriminate use of the term. Maybe they will continue on for a long time. But the word "Negro," as applied to them, is a misnomer. It is not definitive, descriptive, or comprehensive. It is merely an erroneous, accommodative convenient habit. This commentator again issues the challenge and the defiance to his fellow scribes to explain why they accept the term "Negro," and positively reject the term "Negroes." None has accepted the challenge.

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THE FACT THAT sound, solid, practical business people recognize that the average colored American is not attracted to spend his money when styled "Negro," should project a train of thought in the minds of those who formulate public opinion and shape the philosophies of the times. The use and adaption of the term "Negro," is most confusing.

More and more the ridiculousness of this expression and arbitrary classification is being brought to light. Walter White's affairs revealing the information that he is but "one-sixtieth Negro" shows that all of this "Negro" typing and stamping is without foundation. So does "Lost Boundaries," "Kingsblood Royal," and similar themes. The matter is becoming a veritable comedy of errors.

As a "colored American," the darker minority gains larger stature and links his cause more closely with the other oppressed, darker people of the world. As a "Negro," he remains an anthropological myth. The business people of America see through the labyrinth much more clearly than do the Caucasian scribes, the American colored people themselves, and the psuedo scientists.

(Negro) Horace Cayton

CAYTON

Case of Innocent Man Who Spent 26 Years in Jail Needs Much Wider Publicity

By HORACE CAYTON

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

8-20-49

THIS is the tragic story of James Montgomery, a man who served twenty-six years for a crime he did not commit.

The charge was rape. The accuser, a white woman. The city was dominated by the spirit of the KKK. Montgomery was "legally" lynched.



Mr. Cayton

James Montgomery lived in Waukegan, Ill. There he owned his little home. He lived with his wife, Sentoria. Both were respected people in the community. Montgomery was a veteran of the first world war and had no police record. On Jan. 9, 1924 he was arrested and from that time on his peaceful existence was changed to a nightmare which ended only a few days ago when he walked from Stateville Penitentiary a free man.

MISS MAMIE SNOW, then 62, a Waukegan itinerate who made a living selling shoe laces from door to door, claimed to have been raped by a Negro. Numbers of colored men were arrested, among them James Montgomery. A group of them were shown to Miss Snow and she picked Montgomery out of the bunch. But the following day she was unable to identify him. At the time Miss Snow was examined by Dr. John E. Walter of Waukegan, who found that she had not been raped. Miss Snow, after the trial, was sent to a mental institution, where she died.

But the KKK was then in power in Waukegan. Montgomery's attorney was threatened by the prosecuting attorney and on fear of retaliation by the KKK could not introduce this vital piece of evidence which would have freed the defendant. He was not even allowed bail and when he made application for it was told by the Chief of Police, "You know if you were in Georgia or Mississippi, we would turn you over to the Ku Klux Klan. We are liable to do that now, because I am a member."

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MONTGOMERY WAS brought to trial and in spite of the fact that his attorney, the sheriff, the prosecuting attorney and perhaps the trial judge knew that he was innocent was sentenced to life. All this was possible because the issue at the time of the trial was not the guilt or innocence of the accused, but the whole idea of racial subjugation.

This happened not in Mississippi, but in the proud State of Illinois.

There have been miscarriages of justice before. If this were just an ordinary case it would be a matter of deep concern to all citizens, but this case is more than just that. It is a prime example of how, under the influence of mob pressure, all of the legal devices of the state can be turned to serve the needs of racial oppressors. It shows how dangerous can be the subversive elements which now are flourishing in the Southern part of the country. The tragedy of James Montgomery is an object lesson for all of us—not as a miscarriage of justice but as to the method by which people can be kept in subjection by organized "legal" lynchings.

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WHEN MONTGOMERY left the prison walls he was handed $10 like all convicts upon their discharge. There is no way under the law that he can sue the State of Illinois for the twenty-six years he served in the penitentiary. His only relief would be for the State of Illinois to pass legislation to have the state compensate him. Men like Charles Jenkins of the Illinois Legislature will take care of that, I am sure.

But this case needs much wider publicity. It should be the subject of many stories. It should be dramatized on the radio. A motion picture should be made from the story. In the larger cause, Montgomery is not so important. What is important is to use the tragic story to expose the entire mechanism whereby courts of justice are used for the subordination of racial minorities.

CAYTON

Prejudiced AMA Finally Had to Seek the Aid of Negro Doctors Against Socialization

By HORACE CAYTON

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

THE POWERFUL and prejudiced American Medical Association has finally had to seek the aid of Negro doctors. Dr. Elmer L. Henderson of Louisville, Ky., didn't appeal to the members of the National Medical Association, and its all-Negro membership, out of any democratic impulse. Dr. Henderson, and Dr. George F. Lull, who delivered Henderson's speech, were out to do just one thing: to enlist the aid of all Negro physicians, dentists and druggists to prevent the adoption of National Compulsory Health Insurance. In this effort the American Medical Association pulled miserably, for the Negro physicians voted to take no stand on the issue.



Mr. Cayton

How much the decision of the National Medical Association was because an appeal had come from the AMA, and how much because the doctors themselves were against the plan are hard to say.

Certainly resentment against the AMA and anything that it would suggest played its role. Dr. Montague Cobb, who has been leading a fight against the prejudiced policy of the AMA, warned against Greeks bearing gifts. He further described the willingness of the AMA to elect a Negro physician to its House of Delegates as a part of a plan to win over the support of Negro physicians to their side in the fight against the health plan.

IT WILL NOT be an easy job for most colored doctors to get over their distrust of the AMA. That organization is perhaps the last profession to begin to drop some of its racial bars. Even now with the desperate need white physicians have for support in defeating the health bill they are willing only to offer token gestures. For example, in inviting Negro physicians to its annual mid-winter meeting, Dr. Henderson said: "Your membership card in the National Medical Association will admit you to all clinical sessions and will be honored on the same basis as a fellowship card in the AMA." But still no plan for real integration. The white physicians are frightened, but not frightened enough.

One thing certain with any Federal control over the health services to the nation, the powerful and influential AMA will find it hard to maintain control over the profession. Just as it sees that it will have to compromise in the field of group medicine so that the medical services of this country will reach more people, so will it be necessary to give up the idea that organized medicine must stay under the control of reactionary white physicians. In both instances the AMA is trying to concede a little before a lot is taken away.

BUT THERE WAS also a division among the Negro physicians as to the health plan itself. Although there were some ardent supporters of the plan, great numbers of the doctors at the convention were against it. This comes as no surprise. There is something about the medical profession which seems to make people who enter it conservative. This is especially true of Negro physicians who occupy a position in the Negro community of unrealistic importance. In almost any city in the country, the physicians generally have the most money. Certainly, they are at the top of the social heap and are the leaders of local society. This position of advantage and power makes them conservative. So it is not surprising that they, like most white doctors, are interested in keeping their advantaged position.

I have talked to several Negro doctors about the health plan. Most were against it, and when their arguments were boiled down, they were against it because they thought that under it they would not make as much money as they are now making. One of the physicians I talked to added, after pointing out some of the alleged defects of the bill, "Well, it would mean two things: more people would get better medical care than they are now getting and fewer Negro doctors would have new Cadillacs."

As far as I can see that's just about the length and breadth of it.

CAYTON

Author 'Explains' Why Church Can't Deal Effectively With Race Problem

By HORACE CAYTON

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

RELIGION is slightly out of my line. It is not that I am against it, but every time I find myself in church my minister and I exchange startled glances. I don't know which of us is the most surprised. But I do enjoy the services. I sing loud and off tune. What my pastor says is always intelligent and sometimes interesting. I should go to church more often, but I usually end up at a B-class movie.



Mr. Cayton

Recently, however, I had a little religious book dropped in my lap which I have not been able to completely dismiss. In fact I stayed home from the movies to read it. The book is Howard Thurman's "Jesus and the Disinherited." In this slim volume of 112 pages Author Thurman attempts to explain the reasons for the failure of the Christian Church to deal with race prejudice.

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IN HIS PREFACE he raises the question: "Why is it that Christianity seems impotent to deal radically and therefore effectively, with the issues of discrimination and injustice on the basis of race, religion and national origin?" That was the $64 question which made me want to finish the book.

For some time I have had the sneaking suspicion that while professing the "Brotherhood of Man" many churches and churchmen were actually doing all they could to keep things just as they were, at least as far as racial prejudice was concerned. To read such a statement from Preacher Thurman confirmed some of my suspicions, especially in view of the fact that he had been the co-pastor of the Church for the Fellowship of All Peoples in San Francisco.

I wasn't so interested in Thurman's theology as I was intrigued by his psychological explanation of prejudice. He used four general ideas to explain man's injustice to man: Fear, deception, hate and love.

Some time ago I played around with some of these ideas and was anxious to see how a religiously oriented person would employ them. The author's thesis ran something like this.

DECEPTION IS BOTH a tool and a weapon. A tool to avoid danger on the part of the weak and a weapon to avoid responsibility for the evil that they do on the part of the oppressors. Hate arises out of the helplessness of the weak and the necessity to exert brutal control on the part of the strong. Both deception and fear can overcome love and the teachings of Christ.

In psychological terms I have stated much the same thing. The dominant group, I believe, is motivated by a guilt-hate-fear complex. Guilt because the dominant group knows that their treatment of Jews, Negroes and other minority groups is in sharp contrast to the democratic beliefs that they express. But having this guilt, and incidentally, making plenty of money out of it, they are unwilling to give it up. I mix a little Karl Marx in with my social philosophy. So there is the necessity to rationalize or make excuses for their own exploitive, cruel behavior. So guilt leads to deception and the justification of cruelity.

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FINALLY, ACCORDING TO my way of thinking, there is fear. Every man knows that he would resent being treated inhumanly. Every man knows that deep down the guy who is kicked around resents it, too. The fear is that of retribution. That is why Southerners are so anxious to tell the world that their Negroes really love them even if they are underpaid, abused and insulted.

Where I don't see quite eye to eye with Thurman is that love is going to cure the situation. As long as people make money out of race prejudice, get sadistic satisfaction from hurting other people and can feel a little bit superior to some other group I don't think the teachings of Christ or the organized Christian Church will prevent our people from making scapegoats of Jews and Negroes. This type of prejudice to me is a mental illness brought on by our own immaturity and our intensive economic competition. There is little percentage in turning the other cheek under present condition.

CAYTON

The Incredible Lillian Smith Has a Message for Critics and Boosters in 'Killers of the Dream'

By HORACE CAYTON

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

ALL of you people, especially you women, who didn't like Lillian Smith's book, "Strange Fruit," gather around. I have something to tell you. Miss Lillian Smith has written a new book and in it she tells it just as it is. If you don't like this book I will wonder what the writer has to do to please you.



Mr. Cayton

Some five years ago Miss Smith wrote "Strange Fruit." In it she tried her level best to show the terrible effects of the race line and what happened when a sensitive young colored girl tried to cross it.

Instead of shocking people into a different attitude about race, to Miss Smith's surprise, it turned out to be a best seller — better than a million copies sold. That in itself wasn't bad but it got to be a best seller because it was supposed to be a sex story about a comely Negro wench in love with a drunken white man.

But this was not the type of story the author had intended to write and her sincere motive was misunderstood. It took her five years to write her next book which was published last week. This time no one will misunderstand what she wants to get at.

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OFTEN IN LECTURING I have come across liberal whites who have said, "After all it isn't a Negro problem, it's a white problem." It is on this general premise that Miss Smith approaches the problem of the South in her new new book "Killers of the Dream."

The dream is the hope for democracy that America and new world had for civilization.

The dream included the Christian religion and the political institution of democracy. These two ideologies had as their central core the belief in the dignity of the individual personality. The killers of the dream was first slavery and then the entire social structure of the South which still remains to cripple and distort both whites and blacks in that area.

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LILLIAN SMITH WAS born and bred a Southerner, and remains a Southerner. For the past thirty years she has lived in Clayton, Ga. From this vantage point she has seen and made careful note of what was happening in the South.

Part of her book is a semi-biography when she, as a child, learned what segregation meant and what an awful price it extracted from the people who practiced it. And this time, as I said before, she is looking at what happens to white people not just lamenting about Negroes.

Here is one of the best points in the book. She is explaining why Southern white women object to the lynching of Negroes. Southern white men are attracted to Negro women. The customs of the South allow them to have Negro as well as white women. What happens is that often the white women are neglected sexually for their colored sisters.

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WHAT THE WHITE women are saying, in their protest about the lynching of Negroes because white men fear that they might bother white women, is "You white men should give us more of your love and sexual attention and leave the colored girls alone.

"Negroes are not bothering us. You would not be afraid that they might if you were not bothering their women and neglecting us."

This is just one of the things the book says. It is really a treasure house of brilliant insights and astonishing revelations. Only a Southern white women could have written it and perhaps only Miss Smith.

So those of you who did not like "Strange Fruit" (and those of you who did) gather around and read "Killers of the Dream." Then you will realize what this incredible Miss Smith is trying desperately to say.

National GRAPEVINE

By CHARLEY CHEROKEE

Hold Your Hat

RACE HELD the stage. Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals, prodded by NAACP, agreed to review cases of those 7 Negroes accused and convicted in lightning-fashion of rape last May, in Martinsville. NAACP also asked for new trial for the 3 convicted of rape in Groveland, Florida. Negro votes, the balance of power, decided mayor's race in Democratic primary in Atlanta. NAACP in Tennessee, set out to get 200,000 Negro voters registered.

In D. C., the new Fire Chief showed his hand, refusing integration of firemen and transferring surplus Negro firemen from two All-Negro companies to additional Jim Crow unit under white officers. Charley Houston was endorsed for a District Court judgeship by District Democratic Central Committee. Colored citizens who sued Washington airport for segregating them and refusing dining service are losing suits altho airport is now integrated.

When those 10 Anglican Bishops visited D. C., Friday, Rev. A. A. Birch and Layman Lawrence Oxley were colored representatives in official welcoming committee meeting them at station, accompanying them to the White House and to the reception at the British Embassy.

On labor front, CIO in its call for its 11th Constitutional Convention (Cleveland, Oct. 31) pledged itself again to renew efforts to get full rights for all Americans regardless of color, race, creed, etc. United Public Workers, fighting Jim Crow in government, put out a pamphlet exposing true conditions. Reproduced on cover is an actual government memo reading in part: "Attached are the applications I talked to you about. Except for color they look like good girls."

September issue of Commentary mag has an article, "The U.A.W. Fights Race Prejudice," a masterpiece on what a union can and can't do toward good race relations.

'Along Press Row

THERE is a helluva row among the newsmen accredited to the Congressional Galleries. There are only three Negro newsmen accredited, Alice Dunnigan of ANP, Louis Lautier of NNPA and P. L. Prattis of Our World. Argument is over future admittance policies. Presently, the admission committee can only recommend, as final veto power is in hands of Congressional leaders. Newsmen want new rules and more power and on outcome of fight hangs probability of additional Negro reporters ever getting in.

Elsewhere, Mary McLeod Bethune, one of our few leaders still with a sound reputation among the masses, is more than a bit miffed at a colored reporter who wrote recently that she sips a toddy now and then. As a matter of fact she doesn't, never has and is a life member of Women's Christian Temperance Union. Give her a hand and spread this one straight.

Nine years ago, Sept 14, 1940, we started this column. It has been a full, hectic but withal exciting era. We are glad we were alive and that we could write about it and above all that you read it. Thanks to W. P. Dabney for his birthday bouquet, and thanks to you all for your praise and brickbats.

By CHARLEY CHEROKEE

People

LESLIE PERRY of NAACP; Edgar Brown of National Negro Council and Elmer Henderson of American Council on Human Rights (Frats), our three registered lobbyists, made their quarterly reports as required by Congress. Elmer and his comely assistant, Patricia Roberts, also issued Summer edition of ACHR quarterly bulletin, "Congress and Equality." All make encouraging reading.

Emmer Lancaster, race adviser in Commerce Dept., having prevailed upon D. C. colored business men to plan a monster business exposition Sept. 11-13, took off for Detroit and the National Negro Business League convention Aug. 21-26. Sam Danly, Administrative and Minority Groups officer in Bureau of Labor Standards, took a breathing spell from the exacting and pioneer research job he is doing on real status of Negro labor and apprenticeship training and also took off to speak at the League in Detroit.

By CHARLEY CHEROKEE

The Walls Come Tumblin' Down

SOME deep South white undertakers who said it would never happen, started grabbing the ever-ready burying cash and bodies of Negroes. In polyglot Washington, the daily Post carried picture and caption-story of a colored bride, Faye Smith of Howard U., right along with the white June brides on the social page. To think we'd see the day!

A. N. Fields 31a



Fight For Racial Progress Depends Upon Our Womenfolk

TODAY, with our universe rapidly shrinking under the skill of our science and the factual fantasy of nuclear fission making the future, if anything, more fearful, women of all nations, creeds and races are demanding a more active and important role in the shaping of their destinies. Long ago the cherished adage that "woman's place is in the home" perished in the face of economic necessity and those who once wore the apron as a badge of their sex and thought it fashionable to be adored but adolescent in world affairs, now read weighty treatises on political history and international banking. Those who once talked knowingly of recipes and the like have amazingly become devout followers of myriad schools of philosophical thought, and bitterly resent any effort no matter how well-meaning, to stifle what they term their "individuality."

But the role any woman may play in the formation of the community in which she must live is predetermined by many things of which she is, too often, ignorant. Our present world problem is dominated and controlled by economic, political and social relationships between races and nations, between continents and empires. In this titantc struggle for power and commercial sovereignty, we of the darker races have little stake and smaller voice. It must follow that if our men can say little anent the ultimate shaping of their future, our women must say even less. When we as the peoples of Asia, can speak with the tongue of millions and say but one truth and voice but one desire, then may our women speak, too, for then will be the time to decide their role in this so important drama of practical realism.

The Negro woman can best make her contribution to racial progress, not as a commercial or political factor, but in the home, among the children, where the knowledge and intelligence resultant from her peering into world affairs can best be used to shape the formative minds of those who must one day fight the battle for the ideals we hold sacred. We, of this generation, can do little more than prepare our children for the real fight which lies ahead. We can, and we must, give them a lasting foundation of character and common sense which will withstand the ravages of time and temptation. Only those of mental maturity and moral stability can successfully bear the standards of our race against the twin enemies of ignorance and prejudice. It is our responsibility as citizens of this generation to make the next a better, more purposeful one.

If it is true that the foundation of any race is predicated upon the character of its womanhood, then the Negro woman must become increasingly aware of the tremendous responsibility that is hers. Virtue and respectability are the foundations on which races which live and thrive are built. Our womanhood plays an inalienable role in the shaping of these foundations and the tearing away of the temples of truth and purpose built upon their

. Negro womanhood must remember that the truly great women of the world, those whose names are inscribed in letters of gold upon the pages of Time, did not gain this recognition and fame by frequenting taverns and night clubs, or yet by frivolous companionship. Rather, their contribution to world unity and happiness is marked by their strict adherence to the Christian principles of sobriety, chastity, piety and the sympathetic understanding of the problems with which their race is confronted. Only by this unwavering standard and steadfast devotion to an ideal can our womanhood serve the cause of racial progress.

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A.N. Fields



Forced Labor In South Africa Bared: Dixie Next?

HOW THE Union of South Africa enslaves the natives through legislation based on Hitler racial theories was described at a recent public hearing of the Commission of Inquiry Into Forced Labor.

The Commission heard testimony from the Rev. Michael Scott of the International League for the Rights of Man. Scott who has spent some years in the Union of South Africa and surrounding territory, is in this country as representative of the Hereo Tribe of Africa in their petition to the United Nations for aid against the attempts of the government of the Union of South Africa to incorporate them into the Union.

Scott described the conditions of the native and other non-European populations in the Union of South Africa. Highlights of his testimony, which was amply backed up by documentary evidence and a motion picture film, showed the following:

The present government of the Union of South Africa, under the premiership of Dr. Malan follows an extreme nationalist position and the racial theories of the Hitler Nazi regime. It has instituted the harshest kind of discriminatory legislation against all those who are not white. This system they call "apartheid."

Under the policies pursued by the government of South Africa no native representative is permitted in the legislative assembly. Three white "representatives" are spokesmen for four-fifths of the population, which is black. Under the rule of white Europeans the natives have been deprived of the land until now 75 per cent of the land is owned by the white, one fifth of the population and the remaining 25 per cent represents the poorest possible land. The urbanization of the native population has destroyed the culture of the peoples and even on the "reservations" the crowded conditions are such that the high traditional standards of life have almost completely collapsed.

In cities, the restrictions against the Bantu (native black) worker are extreme. A Bantu may be arrested for failure to carry any one of 12 passes which are required by law. Wage rates are kept to a starvation level with the result that the death rate and disease rate among the native population are fantastically high. No native worker can attain rating as a skilled employee.

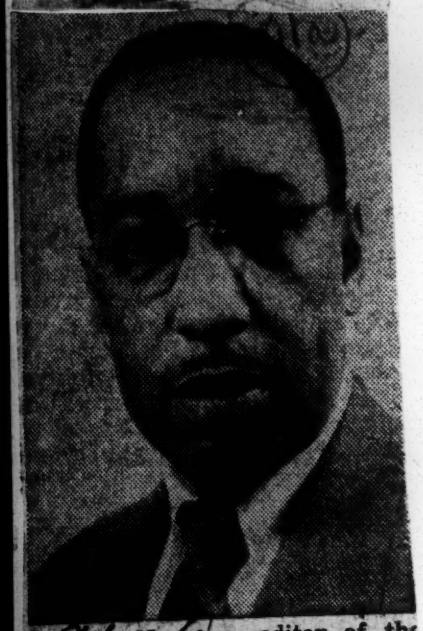
The government deliberately fosters race hatred not only between black and white but between Negro and Asiatic. The recent riots affecting the Negro and Indian populations in South Africa are a case in point.

Migrant labor in farm and the gold mining industry completes the picture of a country which is literally a jail house for the native workers. Native workers are "recruited." A South African 'senator' (white representative of natives in the upper house of parliament) declared that "The moment an African miner puts his signature or thumb print to the contract of employment, he is virtually a prisoner of the gold mining industry. This is a fact. The 350,000 people who work in the gold mining industry are prisoners in the same legal sense that they are going to jail for the next 9 or 12 months. Just as the prisoner cannot say that he is tired of prison and prison food, the African miner cannot say that either. The moment he has signed the contract he is compelled to live in the Compound, and if he does go out on a week end, he can only go out with the permission of the Compound manager who is acting for the gold mining industry . . . . I do not know whether you have got any such parallel in the civilized world . . . ."

We wonder if there will ever be a public hearing at which the tragic labor picture as it actually exists on some of our southern plantations?

Then an amazing comparison could be made.

Editor Honored



C. C. J. Newman, editor of the Minneapolis Spokesman and St. Paul Recorder, was voted one of Minnesota's 100 "living greats" in a poll taken recently by the Minnesota Junior Chamber of Commerce. More than 10,000 ballots were cast in the voting, taken in connection with the State's centennial celebration. Newman, a native of Kansas City, Mo., came to Minnesota in 1922. He is a member of the Governor's State Mental Advisory board and the Minneapolis Mayor's Council.

Lautier, Solon Discuss Cloture Change on Radio

NNPA Chief Teams With 3 White Capital Writers in Quizzing Civil Rights' Foe

WASHINGTON, — (NNPA) — A colored reporter, for the first time, participated last week in a program with Washington correspondents who quizzed a United States senator about his position regarding a change in Senate rules to curb filibusters.

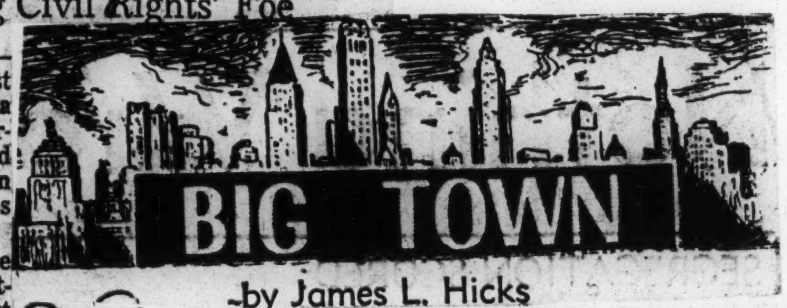
The program was "Meet the Press," a weekly feature originating at Station WOL and broadcast over the Mutual network.

The Senator was Spessard L. Holland, (Dem., Fla.), who talked on the Senate floor for four hours and 52 minutes last Thursday against any change in the present cloture rule.

The reporter was Louis Lautier, cheif of the National Negro Press Association, who last week, received the Wilkie award for objective reporting in 1948.

Other newsmen who questioned Senator Holland were Lawrence E. Spivak of the American Mercury, Marquis Childs, a noted columist, and John T. Carlton of the Miami (Fla.) Daily News. Albert L. warner, news commentator of the Mutual Broadcasting System, presided.

The program was entirely unrehearsed. Senator Holland did not know what questions would be asked him, and none of the newsmen knew what questions the others would ask. Lautier managed to ask four questions.



-by James L. Hicks

This is Negro Newspaper Week, and here are a few cutlines about some of the bylines which each week bring you the news of colored America. The newsmen mentioned here are just like newsmen all over the world. They have a nose for news, a stretch for whiskey, and an eye for a well turned ankle. Here they are:

George Streator, New York Times, ex-school teacher, able writer, a definite cynic, a good dresser, and virtually a walking file cabinet on colored leaders and organizations. Not too popular with colored press agents because he insists on telling the truth about their organizations.

Ted Poston, New York Post, darling of the Democrats, colorful, with a sense of humor, popular even with the Republicans, may be headed for a White House post soon.

Edgar T. Rouzeau, New York Herald Tribune, the probing, methodical type newsman. Never "slants" a story and the "Trib" assigns him to as many "white" as "colored" stories.

Shorthand Master

Louis Lautier, chief, NNPA News Service, speed typist and master of shorthand. Has a legal background and is an authority on news coverage on Capitol Hill. Likes Bourbon, dresses immaculately, and bats out more copy than any two other newsmen in the country.

Because of his shorthand ability, reporters check their notes with his after a press conference.

Al Smith (Charley Cherokee), Chicago Defender, one of the wits in journalism. Drives a new Packard, has a pretty wife, likes most any kind of whiskey, sings the Wiffenpoof Song when he is "teed" and can pack more heck in one sentence than most guys can in five paragraphs.

Dan Burley, New York Age, a master at Harlem jive language. leans heavily toward theatrical news, conducts a radio show, edits a newspaper, writes sports, writes a column, has his own theatrical production in which he plays a piano, and still finds time to make most of the joints in Harlem each night.

Ralph Matthews, AFRO-AMERICAN, his first love is the theatre and his writings have the flavor and flare of the theatre. Looks for the unusual angle of a news story and usually finds it.

When he puts his pen to an editorial it's usually blistering and to the point. Always a hand for the struggling young newsman.

Lem Graves, Courier, family man with a pretty wife, and daughter. His first love is sports writing. But his recent change to a political writer in Washington demonstrates his versatility.

Lem is the meticulous type. Would rather play poker than eat cherry pie and is a hard man with five cards in his hand.

Sports Lover

Art Carter, AFRO-AMERICAN, first, last and always a sports writer, but can drop sports at the drop of a hat and handle any assignment including being a top flight editor. He'd rather play poker with Lem than eat cherry pie.

Carl Lawrence, New York Amsterdam News, an authority on politics in Harlem which gives him a power he uses very sparingly. Gets a big kick out of doing stories on the lighter side under a feminine pseudonym.

Sam Lacy, AFRO-AMERICAN, long time sports official and practically a walking rule book. Writes his stories like he called plays as a referee—just the way he sees them.

Douglas Hall, AFRO-AMERICAN, a minister and former chaplain in the Army. Always on the go. One of the few who welcome assignments like covering a lynching in the South.

Prides himself on knowing how to get along down there and makes you wonder how he gets by with the stories he comes up with.

Venice Spraggs, Chicago Defender, a lady of considerable girth with a wide knowledge of political affairs in Washington. Dresses well, lays off the parties, always on the lookout for the next story and a great competitor out on the bricks.

Bernard Young Jr., Norfolk Journal and Guide, product of the Ohio State School of Journalism, in the publisher's class now because of his holdings in the Guide, which automatically sets him off from the boys who pound the bricks, but over the drinks he drops his guard and makes you feel that he'd be "one of the boys" out on a news story.

And his excellent reporting of the atomic bombings at Bikini proves that he'd be a good one.

The Women Too

Lillian Scott, Chicago Defender, one of the best women reporters ever to pound a beat. Can't be bought, can't be sold a bill of goods.

Alice Dunnigan, Associated Negro Press, first colored woman admitted as White House correspondent. Job almost scared the daylights out of her at first but she has settled down now to good hard coverage.

Julius Adams, New York Amsterdam News, long time Republican, able political analyst, hard to understand.

Conrad Clark, ANP, the type of newsman who is always getting into people's hair but he also gets into their business enough to come up with stories that you find yourself wishing you had written.

Wendell Smith, good sports writer, hard man on the bottle.

Ric Roberts, Courier, probably one of the most versatile newsmen in the country. Artist, writer, makeup, layout, rewrite and anything else he is called to do.

Robert Taylor, Courier, the kind of editor reporters like to work for. Ted Standford, Courier, more fitted for [illegible]icks than he is for a desk jo[illegible] top flight man in either p[illegible]

There[illegible]y more of them but all hav[illegible] thing in common. They [illegible]ays fighting for the underd[illegible]

New York – Big Town

Topflight News Writers Voted

By JAMES L. HICKS

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There's plenty more of them but they all have one thing in common. They are always fighting for the underdog.

* * * *

Three paragraphs told of the reburial of John S. Kinlock in Farmingdale National Cemetery on Long Island, N. Y., on Jan. 25, after return of his body from Germany where he was killed April 3, 1945 . . . But not one word in the story told you that Pvt. John S. Kinloch, former managing editor of The California Eagle, and nephew of its publisher, was the ONLY Negro war correspondent to die in World War II . . . And you see, you couldn't ordinarily know John was a "war correspondent" because an Army policy said that the Army's own soldier-correspondents, of which John was one (and a standout, too), were not to have "bylines" on their dispatches. Thus, you wouldn't know it was John's stuff you were reading because his shoulder patch read: "Correspondent, U. S. Army," and what he wrote was released by the War Department to all news and radio sources . . . I know, because I handled John's stuff and he was my friend and he died a sacrifice to the highest principle in the world—service to your fellowman.

John—like myself—felt a late ETO, Com. Z, 1944 order which kept us from the fighting zones and we decided we'd pick the hardest fighting Negro units up front, join 'em and see to it that our fellow Negro soldiers in those two outfits, at least, got first-hand coverage . . . I took the 761st Tank Battalion; John, well John took the infantry and became a rifleman in a crack mixed platoon in Company G, Thirty-ninth Regiment, Ninth Infantry Division, and his first job was to get out to you, you and you, the FIRST first-hand stories—and pictures—of our sepia riflemen in front line infantry fighting . . . Those photos and stories were Kinloch's work and we were proud of him . . . After doing that job he took up his weapon and went back to his chore of killing Germans—just days later he was machine-gunned to death in an attack . . . But, like the good newsman he was, he had gotten his stories and pictures out . . . John has made his last deadline—at the Farmingdale National Cemetery, Farmingdale, N. Y. . . . The only Negro war reporter to die during World War II and he died in the front lines . . . a hero and a credit to his race . . . It's the least I can do for my old buddy, respected and admired by everyone who knew him.

Courier Reporter Newsman of Year

WASHINGTON—Lemuel Graves Jr., Washington correspondent for The Pittsburgh Courier, for the second consecutive year last week was named "Newsman's Newsman" by members of the Capital Press Club, at their sixth annual dinner. This year, however, he had to share honors with Alfred Smith, Chicago Defender columnist, who tied with him for first place in the balloting.

Information Please

Thos. Sancman

BEST news releases on progress or lack of it in race relations come weekly out of the NAACP office at 20 West 40th St., in New York. Henry Lee Moon has access to all the activities on NAACP which turns out readable copy, lots of which gets printed unedited. Chicago Defender

In Army, Lt. John Tommy Martin in the Pentagon Building (Washington 25, D. C.) turns out exciting weekly mimeographed releases on doings of colored citizen GI Joe at home and abroad. Chicago, Ill 31a

Over in Agriculture Dept., as we have mentioned, Sherman Briscoe turns out the stuff on Negro farmers and their welfare (Washington 25, D. C.).

In Census Bureau (Also Wash. 25, D. C.) Joseph Houchins sends out periodic data on the numerical and economic status of the Brother in these United States. He also prepares and distributes annually "Convention Dates of Negro Organizations" and "Negro Newspapers and Periodicals."

Veterans Bureau does not put out separate material of interest to Negroes only but George Holland in Joe Albright's office (Wash. 25) will see that you get any info you want on vets including an invaluable release of Dec. 26 titled "Federal Benefits Available to Veterans and Their Dependents."

In Commerce Dept., Emmer Lancaster puts out annual pamphlets on Negro Banks, Lending Institutions, Insurance Companies and such, and has a store of other business info. Continued next week.

ro-Dixiecrat s Stricken

MEMPHIS — Rev. G. L. Young, editor of the Memphis Citizen, the only Southern Negro editor to openly oppose the Dixiecrats, has been stricken with paralysis and is in John Gaston Hospital.

Rev. Young, whose paper appeared irregularly, joined with Lewis Lee, editor of the Telegram (Newark, N. J.) in supporting Dewey, Truman, Warren, Bilbo, Thurmond and Wright.

Writers Form Critics Circle

NEW YORK, N. Y. — Leading Negro critics and newspapermen spurred by the success of the three current Hollywood films dealing with stories of Negroes in American life, have formed the Negro Critics Circle with Ludlow W. Werner as executive secretary, and at the same time expressed the hope that standards of future productions will be as high as "Home of the Brave," the first and thus far judged best by The Negro Critics Circle, paralleling the New York Film and Drama Circle, will be a membership body and annually, after vote has been taken, will make awards to films plays, books and other creative efforts both by Negroes and dealing with stories affecting them.

Forming the Circle at its inception were Miss Lillian Scott, of the "Chicago Defender;" James Hicks N. N. P. A. correspondent in New York and feature writer for the "Afro-American" and "Norfolk Journal and Guide;" Bill Chase of "The New York Age;" George Schuyler of the Pittsburgh Courier;" Julius Adams of the "Amsterdam News;"

Expressing the belief that motion pictures and the theatre are strong influences on the educative processes of people and a democratic process at work, the Circle said it feels obligated to "extend, encourage and develop opportunities" for Negroes in those fields, to assure "full, purposeful participation of Negroes in the motion picture industry and theatre on a high level and plane."

After evaluating "Home of the Brave;" "Lost Boundaries," and "Pinky", the Circle judged "Home of the Braves" the "best of the three productions from the standpoint of its social impact on racial relations as the one film which deals with the problem in the most straightforward manner without offense or apologies."

"Dear Bill," writes Ted Yates, the veteran blower columnist:

The ANNIVERSARY issue of the NEW YORK AGE was a tribute to its [illegible] also to the others who labored to make in it something of reader-interest. But you will have to let it be also known that the most important contribution that the AGE (and I do mean the lamented Editor Fred R. Moore's publication) made to the community was and would have been zero without the efforts of writers Clark, Miller, Diall, Seal, and yes, Yates. There also was the gentlemen who labored in the linotype and presses (those energetic Moore boys); and your having said nary a word about Mary Finger who toiled from sun-up to sun-down to get that paper to the newsstands. And one more thing, Bill, the AGE wasn't even (hardly) known in Harlem—only by churchgoers—until this writer covered the basketball games at the Rennaisance Casino and gave out throwaway card to the fans with blank scorecard and the old "public relations" tip (as far back as 1928 29 and '30) READ The NEW YORK AGE. And, brother, there were but a dozen or so newsstands in those days that carried the rag. (Boy, did I sweat it out! Ol' Stubborn Fred R. Moore wouldn't even made up an engraving for my boxing pillar, "'BOUT BOXING" when I covered the Commonwealth Club boxing shows, those at the 369th Armory (when it was at 132nd Street and Seventh Avenue where the Congress Casino now stands); and I also would like to remind you that Al Brown was the matinee idol; Wells, Mordecai and Taylor were sensations at the Cotton Club, ditto Paul and Thelma Meeres at Connie's Inn, where the Mills Brothers made their N. Y. debut with Don Redman's ork. And, feller, what did you do with Billie Cain, Gene Tyler George Dewey Washington, B'way Jones, (and that was sacrilege not to call Gerri Major "Lady Nicotine' 'as she was known to everyone—) and you could have "scored by mentioning that three of today's outstanding entertainers were "discovered" by "Yed Tates" (Smile!) and through my efforts Louis Prepanzano, who owned and operated Hot Char Bar, gave them their first break in show business. Know them? Of course you do—namely, Jimmie Daniels, Billie Holiday and Billy Daniels. And you plumb forgot to mention the best of them all in local niteries . . . Roscoe "Red" Simmons, Detroit Red (Laura Livingston); Pods Hollingsworth and Jerry Preston who both gave Harlem its first "after hour" hot spot, The Log Cabin. Then, I would mention the rivalry of Bennie (George Jones) Butler and Romeo Dougherty, of THE TATTLER, and AMSTERDAM NEWS respectively. Alvin (Jack) Moses, the dean of all sports writers who is still Blazin' the Trail (with his syndicated ANP column); and "Chilly Base" you known darn well that Roy (now it's Roi) Ottley's Hectic Harlem and your boy's "I'VE BEEN AROUND NEW YORK" were the two pieces that rang out with the gossip—succeeding "the daddy of 'em all" Floyd G. Snelson, (Now could that "G" stand for great?

(Thanks, Ted, for your valuable info. It would really take a book to cover that interesting period you remember so well, but space permitted only our coverage of one phase of it. I know a lot of readers will get a kick out of the above items which certainly bring back many fond memories, bub).

League Guild Honors Redding

PROVIDENCE, R. I.—The Urban League Guild of this city held an informal reception on Monday evening, in honor of J. Saunders Redding in the parlors of Central Congregational Church.

Mr. Redding, book review critic for the AFRO-AMERICAN, is a visiting professor at Brown University, a member of the staff of Hampton Institute and an author of note.

Mr. Redding made a short speech and read two of his poems, "Creation" and "I Walk Like a Man," both recently published in Mercury Magazine.

Among the inter-racial guests were:

Dr. and Mrs. U. L. Carter Sr., Dr. and Mrs. U. T. Carter Jr., Messrs and Mesdames Robert Scott of E. Providence, Alain Robinson of Pawtucket, Howard E. Blunt, William Wiley of Norwood.

Messrs and Mesdames William Bentley, Byron Stapleton; the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Evans, E. Crawford Jr. Mesdames Jeremiah H. Hill of North Attleboro, Wilmer Jennings, Mary White, Raymond T. Jackson, Louise Johnson, Juanita Hardy.

Mesdames Melvin Burgess, Jessie M. Lampkin, Geraldine Freeman, Ruth Smith, Paul Cardoza, Geraldine Freeman.

Mesdames Florence Goodrich, A. B. Cory, Anna Edwards, Thomas Wilkins.

Misses Marion Luster, Ouida Taylor, Eaker Dean, Ida C. Morgan of East Providence, Eva A. Monterio, Marianne Robinson, Foranz E. Robinson, Mae Williamson, Florentine James, Florida Scott, Margaret Carter, Lillian Walker, Beatrice Coleman, Lydia Brown of Attleboro Falls, Mass.;

Clarence Newport, Frederick Williamson, Paul Williams, Gurney Edwards, J. C. Donck, E. H. Lee, Lawrence L. Adams, Lorenzo Spicer, Lawrence D. Kellis.



REVIEWING *THE* NEWS

BY WILLIAM GORDON

THE ROLE OF THE NEGRO PRESS

31a

For many years now, the Negro press in America has led the field in adverse criticism for its sensational and unorthodox approach to modern-day methods of journalism. However, despite its gross violation of journalistic ethics, it would be hard to fathom the worth of its existence in the country and the community in which it operates.

The American Negro, like all other Americans, should be given some recognition when he achieves honor, exercises responsibility in the community, suffers hardships or faces personal disaster and tragedy. After all, Negroes are a part of all things that go to make up a community in this great common wealth. They should share in its achievements.

Atlanta Ga.

The role of the Negro press in American life has lived to give the Negro people a most fundamental sociological wish inherent in all group life .... that of recognition Without recognition of our achievements and sorrows, man would have very little to look forward to in the way of human activity.

Daily Record

While the role of the white press has been that of a race baiting nature, often painting the Negro as that of a subhuman status in many instances, while the Negro press has upheld him as an important person in the community.

Ever since the days of reconstruction when the Negro emerged as a free individual, the daily press has played down his achievements and enlarged on his shortcomings. The job was done so effectively that immigrants and visitors from foreign countries became to know the Negro as a lazy, shiftless and unclean individual and unfit to be a part of society.

Journal 1-13-49

An Englishman visiting in this country once made the statement that: "Before coming to America, I often associated the Negro with levy camps, cotton fields and the slums of big cities." This type of picture has been painted to millions of other foreign borns whose chance it was to learn of the Negro only through a prejudiced press.

An article appearing in the current Southern Regional Council pamphlet, on "Race in the News" discloses that "The gravest charge against newspapers is that through repetition they have made the word "Negro" in a headline synonymous with "crime" and in the minds of many, with "rape". One does not need to look at the sensational press for an example."

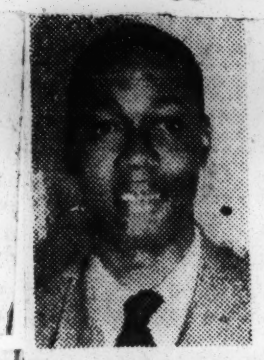
The article further states that: "Reports of white crimes against Negroes are so commonly underplayed that for any details of such crimes an interested person frequently must turn to the Negro newspapers.

"Crimes of Negroes against Negroes, it further discloses, "almost escape notice in most Southern papers."

The pamphlet points out that this method of handling crime news "is patiently unfair to the Negroes for three reasons: (1) it emphasizes individual cases instead of statistical proportions, thus giving Negro crime cases more emphasis than white criminal offenses; (2) it implies that Negro life is cheap; and (3) because of the press's consistent neglect of other and more favorable aspects of Negro news, it tends to fix the Negro in the white man's mind as an incorrigible trouble-maker."

In the light of what the Negro has encountered from the daily press and other methods of communication, the Negro press should be congratulated for giving him hope and faith in himself and his race. It has more than served its purpose in society. It has rendered a most valuable service of a long neglected people that make up an important segment of our country.

It has given the Negro a sort of pride and self respect not inherent in many races or groups anywhere in the world. We definitely have something, despite many shortcomings. That something is the role played by the Negro press.



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REVIEWING THE NEWS

Memphis, Tenn. Tri-State Defender Aug. 12-6-49 Negro

BY WILLIAM GORDON

The "Bug" And The Negro Press

A few weeks back this column paid tribute to the Negro press, indicating the great value of its contribution to the race despite its unothrodox method of constructive journalism. From the pens of its sensational writers, the Negro has gained a certain amount of pride and respect long denied him by many American journalists.

Down through the years, the Negro had accepted his newspapers as the official organ and spokesman of the race, respecting it and believing in what they printed. Some of this respect still remains evident in the minds of many, because they feel obligated to an institution which has carried a worthy crusade in the interest of Negro Americans.

During recent years however, the role of the Negro press has lost a lot of its significance. Its ability to instill pride and dignity into the race is beginning to fade away into the pages of history.

There is a reason for the Negro's lack of interest. Instead of continuing with the kind of crusade which gave him the fighting spirit of an American in the beginning, some few newspapers are making the mistake of feeding the Negro the "Bug" and other types of publicity not representative of decent Journalism. Today, he buys the newspaper, not out of respect for what it says and what he believes, but for what advice he can obtain for getting rich quick or what lucky number to angle for an extra dollar. In many sections of the South, where these newspapers have their bulk of circulation they have lost all sense of value. Readers fail to call for their favorite newspaper any more. Instead, it is the one that gets there first with the "Bug".

Still another method being used is the "after dark" sheet which goes directly into the home of people purposely to appear on the street with its pages filled with cheap gossip.

Unfortunately, these newspapers have dug deeply into the circulation of decent resepectable Negro publications. They are representative of the type of publicity not creditable to a decently reading public.

The publications representative of this sort of journalism, blame the present competitive market for their actions. Their excuse is also that people are destined to play the "numbers" and that nothing can be done about it. They believe that in order to keep advertising rates at a certain level and keep circulation within the limits of a certain figure, the "Bug" and the "after dark" sheet is the ideal method.

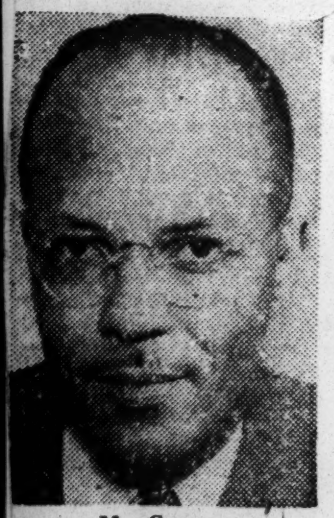
To decent people everywhere, this new approach to journalism is more than unothordox. It is corruptible and exploitative in nature, and when Negro people hitch their ladder to this sort of star, they certainly won't be aiming very high.

Washington Notebook . . .

By LEM GRAVES JR.
(Courier's Washington Correspondent)

Negro-Hater Holds the Whip

WASHINGTON—Civil rights legislation last week got two breaks—one good and one bad. This should figure as a standoff but it isn't. The net result is a loss.



Mr. Graves

The good break was Senator Scott Lucas' pledge to liberal leaders that he would do something about civil rights legislation in this session of Congress. While Lucas, in his public declarations, was vague about civil rights legislation, he was more specific in a private conference with leaders of progressive organizations. He agreed to ask Senator James Murray (D., Mont.) to get FEPC favorably reported out of his labor sub-committee and to ask Sen. Elbert Thomas (D., Utah) to get FEPC through his full labor committee and on to the Senate calendar. Murray delivered promptly. Thomas has not, so far. It was generally agreed that the FEPC floor fight would be launched early next January in the second session. With this agreement, Lucas is inclined not to try civil rights during the remainder of this sesion but he said he would not make a final decision on that until he had consulted the President.

The bad break was the appointment of Senator James O. Eastland, arch Negro-hater, to the chairmanship of the Judiciary Sub-Committee on Civil Rights. Eastland succeeds former Senator J. Howard McGrath, author and sponsor of the administration's civil rights bills. McGrather is now Attorney General. It is a foregone conclusion that Eastland will never report out any of McGrath's bills. Likely to die in this committee is the strong omnibus bill considered by many as essential for the preservation of civil liberties in the United States, and the anti-lynch bill.

One of the penalties of a Democratic congressional victory is the seniority Dixiecrats hold on committees. This is just another incident in a pattern which has been established in the 81st Congress. The other Mississippi Senator, John Stennis, now heads the poll-tax sub-committee of the Rules Committee, which leaves Mississippi in almost complete control of civil rights legislation in the U. S. Senate.

Deliberately Planned Insult

Much the same thing happened in the House Rules Committee with one important difference. It is true that Virginia's poll tax disciple, Rep. Burr Harrison, chaired the poll tax sub-committee in the House, but the chairman of the full committee was Mrs. Mary Norton (D., N.J.), sponsor of an anti-poll tax bill. After she had given Harrison a reasonable time in which to delay a report on her bill, she simply called her committee together and forced a favorable report over the protest of the sub-committee chairman.

No such advantage accrues to civil rights bills in the Senate. Chairman of the full Senate Judiciary Committee is Nevada's reactionary Sen. Pat McCarran who, no doubt, appointed Eastland as a deliberately planned insult to Negroes, to the administration, and to all liberal groups. Known as a vigorous opponent of Negro interests and most liberal legislation, including the displaced persons bill, McCarran has views closely akin to those of his appointee, Eastland. The poll tax situation in the Senate is about as hopeless with Arizona's Carl Hayden, chairman of the Rules Committee, in no way disposed to push Dixiecrat Stennis off of the anti-poll tax bill on which he has taken a comfortable seat.

* * *

One of the most encouraging developments in Washington occurred last week when a Georgia Democratic Congressman walked up to Illinois' Congressman William Dawson, secretary of the Democratic Election Committee, and said: "Bill, I may need your help in my campaign in 1952." This means one thing: Negroes are voting in Georgia and Georgia politicians are beginning to be sensitive to their desires. Votes count in politics. Very little else does. North or South, the way to get politicians concerned about one's needs is to vote, and lasting civil rights gains will be made primarily by the ballot method.

* * *

Virgin Islands Governor Bill Hastie is learning that there is such a thing as being too good. Bill is so good as a Democratic campaigner that some White House officials don't want to lose his services and are somewhat reluctant to put him out of political circulation by appointing him to the Federal bench with its lifetime, $20,000 per year security . . . There will be a Negro judge, this reporter is reliably informed . . . Hastie is far and away the leading candidate . . . NAACP's Thurgood Marshall ranks second in the morning line . . . Washington's Charlie Houston is highly regarded but most observers believe his vigorous militancy may operate against him.

* * *

Val Washington appears to be solid with the new GOP high command . . . As assistant to Chairman Guy Gabrielson of the National Republican Committee, Val drew the assignment of representing the committee in the crucial Johnstown, Pa. Congressional race. Val spent seventeen days on the job in the three Pennsylvania counties which form the late Rep. Robert Coffey's Twenty-sixth District and when he left Republican John Saylor had won over the Democratic candidate, Coffey's mother. Looks like the guys who have been gunning for Val's job are washed up.



LEM GRAVES
. . . on two-year leave

Courier Correspondent On Leave

Graves Takes Post With U.S. in Paris

WASHINGTON—Lemuel Graves, Jr., top ranking Washington correspondent and capital representative for The Pittsburgh Courier, is terminating his stay in the Nation's Capital for a post in the European Reconstruction Division of the Labor Information Division of the Economic Cooperation Administration in Paris, France.

Graves, who has covered the Washington scene for The Courier for the past three years, expects to leave with his wife and daughter, Theora Gene, 8, in about two weeks. For the past two of his years in the Nation's Capital he was selected by newsmen as the outstanding reporter on the scene.

POST SETS PRECEDENT

His acceptance of appointment with ERA marks the first time in the history of Negro newspapers that a Negro newsman has been named to the foreign service post. He has been granted a leave of absence from The Courier for duration of his appointment. Employed with The Courier since [illegible] as a reporter, he has since served with [illegible] mainly political.

Besides having worked for the Journal and Guide of Norfolk, Va., for twelve years, he served as a war correspondent in the European theater with the 92nd Infantry Division. With the Courier he travelled on the campaign train of President Truman on his trip to the Caribbean area.

Graves probably knows more na-

Washington Notebook . .

By LEM GRAVES JR.

(Courier's Washington Correspondent)

WASHINGTON—Does Negro leadership vitally need a unified high command?

It is with the hope that Negro leaders will seriously give this idea more than first glance consideration that your Washington observer suggests that it might be worth while, in these trying times, to have a latter day Sanhedrin Council going for us.



Mr. Graves

Are there valid reasons for giving this idea serious consideration? Three years of watching developments in Washington have convinced this reporter that there are, and some of these reasons will be outlined below:

(1) What is the time of day, historically speaking? It is the time for significant gains for minorities. No more fortitudinous time ever existed in world history. The ideological climate is well nigh perfect, both domestically and internationally.

(2) What are the factors which produce this opportune time and this favorable climate? There are several. Most important, psychologically is the Russian A-bomb and the world-wide, hysterical fear of Communist expansion.

Other factors include: Decline of Great Britain, which inspired the Anglo-Saxon domination of world affairs by its system of colonial exploitation, its class and racial strictures, and its widespread sterling empire; the revolt of colored people all over the world and the strivings for independence and autonomy which has seen, in recent months, the emergence of India, Pakistan and Indonesia as sovereign republics; gradual enlightenment of native U. S. whites; the gradual realization on the part of poor, oppressed Southern whites that they have been exploited just as completely as have been Negroes and that the divide and conquer strategy symbolized by artificial jim-crow barriers works to their disadvantage; the articulate influence of President Harry S. Truman, who has dramatized the democratic creed; the change which has come in the U. S. Supreme Court; the political awakening of Negroes in the South; and the uncompromising stand which has been taken by the U. S. Justice Department in segregation cases.

(3) Is Negro leadership, as presently constituted, prepared to effectively exploit the favorable conditions which presently exist? This reporter's answer is no! Assuming that the pattern of diverse and disunited leadership was best fitted to past conditions—when victories over the hard core of native reaction were only won by guerilla attacks on the part of small, isolated groups seeking small and ofttimes personal gains, that time is now past. This is the time for a full-scale offensive.

* * *

THE ENEMIES OF NEGRO progress and integration are united. There are, in this country, organized hate groups with an imposing mailing list. This reporter weekly receives poison-pen notes from these hate-mongers. The Army general staff has a unified command in its opposition to Negro integration. The Dixiecrats are organized and hold regular caucuses in the U. S. Congress. Industrial corporations plan day and night how to keep Negroes and poor whites at each other's throats.

Against this united front, Negro leaders are still acting like guerilla chiefs, when the combined resources, planning concepts, and firepower are urgently needed for strategic concentration at vulnerable targets and in such sequence as will achieve the most good with the least racial dislocation.

That is why this writer dares to challenge Negro leadership to devise a system of unified command, a system of priorities and the machinery for softening the blow of integration upon the Negro community. Small private autonomies must be liquidated for the general good.

Maybe some courageous leader will issue a call to the various groups. Maybe he will even have the persuasive power to show these people that unification is an absolutely necessary development at this stage. And maybe a few of these will have the objective statesmanship which will command the respect of confidence of minority group members.

* * *

THIS CERTAINLY DOES NOT imply partisan political solidarity. Negroes should work in all major political parties. However, this does imply the elimination of petty kingdoms in the racial progress field and the consolidation of all efforts in something approaching a concentrated, well-planned, and cleverly executed attack, with strategic and tactical support, an efficient intelligence system, and a master battle plan.

Integration gains not won and consolidated in this period of international crisis may never be won. It is important to realize this and to get going on a unified program before the favorable time and climate is lost.

What Negro leader has the courage to organize the minority group "Sanhedrin?"

Washington Notebook . . .

By LEM GRAVES JR.

(Courier's Washington Correspondent)

A Colonel Takes the 'Rap'

WASHINGTON—A colonel—not a general—has been reprimanded and transferred by the Army for release of the controversial field directive which further restricted the utilization of Negro specialists and which caused such a commotion in the Pentagon Building recently . . . The directive, it will be remembered, was revoked by the Secretary of the Army in some relatively strong language—considering the carefully chosen phrases with ambiguous loopholes with which general racial policy decisions of the Army secretary are sometimes couched.



Mr. Graves

It seems that Col. John H. Riepe, chief of the assignment section of the Army personnel and administration branch, was the "goat" and was properly slapped down by the Army Secretary. But there are few people hereabouts who believe that the discriminatory policy declaration—which would have prevented Negroes from using their specialties in white overhead units—was the sole responsibility of this one officer. Undoubtedly, this colonel sympathized with the idea that racial integration should be resisted, but nobody believes that a section chief would undertake to decide such a controversial matter as utilization of Negro personnel without the tacit approval of some higher officials on the general staff.

It has been determined that the message was sent by a colonel in that section but, although the Secretary and Chief of Staff General Collins were not informed about this message, it is unreasonable to assume that such a message went to all Army commands without the chief of the P. and A. Section, General Brooks, or the deputy chief, General C. E. Byars, knowing anything about it.

It is believed that the recalcitrant colonel is taking the "rap" for this faux pas while the head of a more important figure in the general officer category was spared. It is also believed here that the general officer who made the final decision, when two colonels in the section disagreed over the issue, was General Byers. A glance at the organization chart of the personnel and administration branch tends to confirm this rather widespread speculation.

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ONE OF THE MAIN reasons why democracy is not winning the world popularity contest is that its main showcase—Washington, D. C.—continues to get smeared with the ugly paint of jim crow. These marks tend to obscure the commodity on display in the window and to make it less attractive to prospective customers.

Several such marks were made on the showcase window recently. The guilty prankster in this situation was the management of the Capitol Theatre. The theatre was previewing the highly publicized film, "Battleground," and in the usual course of events, two Negro civilian photographers in the Defense Department's pictorial section received invitations to attend the preview along with all other members of the pictorial section's staff. On inquiry, however, the management said it was all a "mistake" and that it didn't really mean that the Negroes were welcome at all. "You know how these things are," said the theatre manager, "we just don't allow Negroes to come to this theatre."

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On another occasion the highly praised Navy integration policy became suspect when a local theatre was showing the film, "Task Force." A Negro officer, Lieut. Dennis D. Nelson, who works in an entirely integrated office set-up, discovered accidentally that his co-workers were being invited to the preview. For some unexplained reason, they somehow neglected to tell Lieutenant Nelson about the special showing in the D. C. moviehouse.

To say nothing of the humiliation which these stupid incidents

of Brooklyn and Miss Muriel Draper. After a Moscow recep- will move on to Peiping, China . . . Lemuel Washington newsman, has accepted ap- to the labor information division of the Co-operation Administration at Paris. The pays $9,000 annually for the next two years. His and daughter, Teddy Gene, 8, will accompany Gov. William Hastie of the Virgin Islands White House caller last week to thank Presi- Truman. Gov. Hastie will be sworn in Dec. 1 as of the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals. was no discussion about who would be his in the Virgin Islands . . . South Africa discriminate in the matter of execu- delegations have asked the Minister of Justice to stage all hang native offenders publicly. Europeans would still be hanged



Mrs. Robeson

Washington Courier 8-13-49 Notebook . . .

By LEM GRAVES JR.

(Courier's Washington Correspondent)

He Made 'em Laugh, But . . .

WASHINGTON—The Republican National Committee, meeting here last week in what was erroneously described as a "harmony" session, got some good advice —free—from two Negro Republicans. At the same time they got some entertaining buffoonery and some "colored" jokes from another Negro Republican.

The party leaders dismissed the good advice without even taking the time to read the letters sent to them. They laughed heartily at the "N—r in the woodpile" jokes as told to them by their fellow Negro committeeman, Perry W. Howard.



Mr. Graves

Two days before the committee began its election of a new national chairman to succeed Rep. Hugh S. Scott, every national committee member was sent a lengthy letter by Robert R. Church, Negro elder statesman of the Republican party and old line partisan of the GOP. Two days later, as they prepared to elect the man who is supposed to lead the GOP back to the White House, Hugh Scott, the retiring chairman; Guy Gabrielson, the newly elected chairman, and Perry Howard, Negro committeeman from Mississippi, all told this reporter that they had not read the letter. So did key personnel in the GOP headquarters here.

The letter, we think, was worth reading. For Bob Church told the GOP the facts of life as regards their chances for victory if the party continues to totally disregard its traditions of justice for minorities and continues to sabotage, in Congress and in state legislatures, the party's civil rights commitments.

* * *

Bob Church Ignored

Church reminded the Republicans that they could have carried the three crucial states of Illinois, Ohio and California and elected Dewey last year if they had won half the pluralities rolled up for Truman in a single, Negro-dominated congressional district in each of these three states. He then gave the history of GOP defaults on civil rights pledges to show why the party has lost the votes of this minority which has a history of traditional loyalty to the party of Abraham Lincoln. And he told them, point blank, that they hadn't won a presidential election since Negroes abandoned the party and that they probably wouldn't until Negroes return to the party.

The veteran Bob Church asked the national committee to do three things: (1) elect three representative men and three women who have the confidence of the Negro electorate to the national committee in over-all policy making positions with no jim-crow classifications and to continue to name qualified Negroes to important posts in national, state and local units; (2) repudiate the infamous GOP-Dixiecrat coalition in Congress and drive to repeal the Senate rules on filibusters; (3) mobilize solid GOP support in the Eighty-first Congress for enactment of FEPC with enforcement powers. Church describes FEPC as the most important civil rights measure to Negroes.

Two days later, Church got the support of a younger Negro Republican, Washington lawyer Thurmond L. Dodson, who forwarded a similar letter to the new and retiring chairman by special messenger. The Republicans were too busy to even acknowledge either communication.

Meanwhile, Negro Republicans are up in arms about the speech made by Committeeman Perry Howard in seconding the nomination of Guy Gabrielson. In opposing another nominee, Axel Beck, from South Dakota, Howard said "didn't have enough Negroes to hold a funeral," he was reminded, he said, of "the white man in Boston who wanted to tell a 'n—r in the woodpile' joke but who dressed it up by saying 'a man of African extraction in the winter's fuel supply.'"

This entertaining, laugh-provoking pattern was continued as Mr. Howard opposed the nomination of A. T. Howard of Nebraska who was described by the speaker as a political neophyte. This reminded Mr. Howard of "the old gentleman whose ox team was mired and who prayed to God, saying, 'Help me, God, but don't send that boy Jesus of yours; this is no time for children.'"

* * *

Sneaked Out of Hall

One prominent Negro Republican reported that he was so embarrassed by the remarks of the only Negro GOP committeeman before an otherwise all-white national committee of 102 members that he sneaked out the rear of the hall. This particular Republican was one of those who believes that the Grand Old Party should be told honestly and in straightforward language that Negroes are generally disgusted with its policies. He says, in effect, that this is "no time for comedy" of any sort and especially of the "yak-yak" minstrel variety.

* * *

While the Republicans are looking the other way and trying to forget that the party was born out of the Negro's struggles for citizenship, an unconfirmed rumor to the effect that Truman plans to appoint a **Negro ambassador to Poland** is currently making the rounds. While such a report could not be officially substantiated, it is reported that Liberian Ambassador Edward Dudley is in line for the significant appointment.

Washington Courier Sat. 11-19-49 Notebook . . .

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The same thing happened to M/Sgt. Samuel Jaegers, a Negro soldier from nearby Fort Belvoir. Sergeant Jaegers had been assigned to Hollywood by the Army for some technical assistance in the filming of "Battleground" and he appeared in a bit part in the film. He received the usual routine invitation sent to all local participants, but he also found that, while he could appear on the Capitol screen, the Capitol's audience must remain lily-white.

On another occasion the highly praised Navy integration policy became suspect when a local theatre was showing the film, "Task Force." A Negro officer, Lieut. Dennis D. Nelson, who works in an entirely integrated office set-up, discovered accidentally that his coworkers were being invited to the preview. For some unexplained reason, they somehow neglected to tell Lieutenant Nelson about the special showing in the D. C. moviehouse.

To say nothing of the humiliation which these stupid incidents impose on Negroes, this reporter wonders if America's rational leaders ever seriously consider what these petty deceptions, this dual moral standards, and these spiritual deviations do to the total character of the proud white majority. Do they understand that their dishonesty infects the heart and mind of the white American people and renders them weak and apologetic defenders of the truths they so nobly proclaim? In the ideological market, America's salesmen are lacking in the moral sincerity so badly needed to impress the world, because their minds are confused by their indulgence in spiritual dishonesty. Their competitors, no matter how inferior their product might be, believe in it and are not handicapped by corruption in the moral fibre of their basic concepts.

The American Negro will have contributed his greatest service to democracy when he has won his civil rights and thereby cleared the frustrated conscience of his fellow-Americans.

DUSTIN' OFF the NEWS

31a by (LUCIUS Harper)



What Will The Republicans Do Next? Probably Adopt The Confederate Flag

WHEN THE Republican National Committee met last August in the Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D. C., it received a four page letter, reading, in part, as follows:

"Does the Republican Party care about the votes of the Colored Electorate? Does our Party care enough to take certain action now that was recommended 11 years ago by Dr. Ralph Bunche as the result of a survey made at the request of the then Chairman of the Republican National Committee?

"This action and two other steps are needed to re-establish the interest and confidence of the Colored Electorate in the program and the candidates of the Republican Party.

"After 5 straight defeats in Presidential elections and defeats in 8 out of the 9 Congressional elections, it seems plain that Republican victory or defeat in 1950 and 1952 will largely depend on whether or not the Colored Electorate, particularly in northern states once considered normally Republican, will return to the Party.

"Are our leaders and the members of the policy-forming Republican National Committee meeting in Washington, D. C., August 4, prepared to face up to—and act for the good of our Party upon—such facts as this:

"The electoral votes of Illinois, Ohio and California—more than enough to have elected our Presidential candidate—were lost in 1948 by less than the pluralities cast for Democratic candidates in the predominantly Colored wards of the principal cities in those doubtful and decisive states. One example, three South Side Chicago Wards, predominantly and overwhelmingly colored, gave Truman more than 50,000 plurality. Truman carried Illinois by 30,000.

"Why did this happen? Why did our Party lose the votes of the Colored Electorate in 1948, and thereby lose the election? In my opinion, it happened because the elected representatives of our Party, and others in policy-forming and administrative positions in our Party, did not carry out our 1944 platform promises to Negroes and other minority groups.

"In 1944-6, as members of the opposition party, they did not even try to carry out the pledge to establish a permanent FEPC. to outlaw the poll-tax and to make lynching a Federal crime Instead of pressing for enactment of FEPC and other civil rights measures...too many leaders of our party joined with Dixiecrat enemies of FEPC and other civil rights legislation to block enactment by refusing to vote for cloture to break the Senate filibuster."

And so it went in three other well-composed pages, citing the faults of the G.O.P. in its relationship with Negroes; most stinging and biting, but nevertheless true...something evidently the Committee didn't want to hear, for it has kept on making mistakes and blunders. And the master blunder came this week, despite that letter that Robert R. Church (we call him "Bob" Church), a life-long Republican, wrote the Committee last August.

Senator Bricker, twice attorney general of Ohio, three times Ohio's governor, and G.O.P. nominee for Vice President in 1944, comes forward with a program...directly opposing that of Mr. Church...to overthrow the Negro and lead the G.O.P., lock-stock-and-barrel, into the Dixiecrat Party, combining the two, and restyling it the American Party. He wants to swap the principles of Abraham Lincoln for those of John C. Calhoun, and leave the colored electorate at the mercy of the latter. While Bricker was announcing this traitorous surrender (thank God for us that he never got near the White House in 1944), the Democratic Party under President Truman, was putting a halt to federal aid for housing projects that bar tenants because of color or creed; Attorney General McGrath was filing a petition with the Supreme Court to force southern railroads to treat Negroes decently in dining cars; National Democratic Chairman Wm. Boyle was announcing that he had placed Cong. Wm. L. Dawson in "Boss" Hague's place as Vice Chairman of the Democratic National Committee; the ink was just drying on the appointment of Gov. Wm. H. Hastie to the U. S. Court of Appeals, and the rumor was current that Dr. Ralph Bunche was to be called to Washington to talk about an ambassadorship to Russia...all this for progress while Bricker is trying to give the Republican Party and its backwardness to Jimmy Byrnes of South Carolina. What a statesman "?"...this Bricker!

DUSTIN' OFF the NEWS

by LUCIUS Harper



Onward, We March, In A World That Is Undergoing Many Marvelous Changes

THE GREAT AND history-making campaign of 1949 is over and penetrating thinkers have gone into the substance of their status without passion. It has been extremely illuminating and has precipitated the American Negro into a train of thought that borders on the unexpected. They are awakened to the fact that the rulers of this government have firmly decided to wipe out sectional lines. The South—from 1949 on— can no longer remain a totalitarian state; just a one party system "for whites only." They are awakened to the stern and untarnished fact that sooner or later the North and South will be blended into the great republic that Lincoln visualized. And they see the day coming that the problem of the black man will not be considered serious enough to quibble over.

It is fairly concluded that sectionalism, such as existed before the coming of Roosevelt and Truman, can be eradicated and wiped away by overriding the desires of the South through Constitutional laws. These laws have been invoked and are sound and workable.

Prior to the Truman Civil Rights' proclamation, the North catered to customs and whims of the South. Southerners did not desire the black people to have a voice in the affairs of the government; they did not want them to vote; they did not want them to hold public office, and they did not want them placed on a plane of political equality. Northern politicians of both parties once accepted this fact, especially Republicans, who were long in power and did nothing about it. They did not propose to ruffle up the feelings of the white South but rather to soothe and pamper them at the expense of the Negro. We were left in a position more embarrassing than immediately following reconstruction days with this exception: we had more brains, more intelligence, more capital and much clearer perspective. Whereas, there was much debate as to our readiness for full responsibilities of citizenship, we have fully qualified now to participate in all phases of this government.

We know that the development of the South and its catching step with the marching van of civilization will boom our industrial growth and set us on a firmer economic base. With the accumulation of wealth, we firmly believe that our abominable status will be changed. With this wealth and intelligent pyramiding of our assets, coupled with a higher intelligence, we feel sure that the inauguration of these policies will militate toward our own uplift.

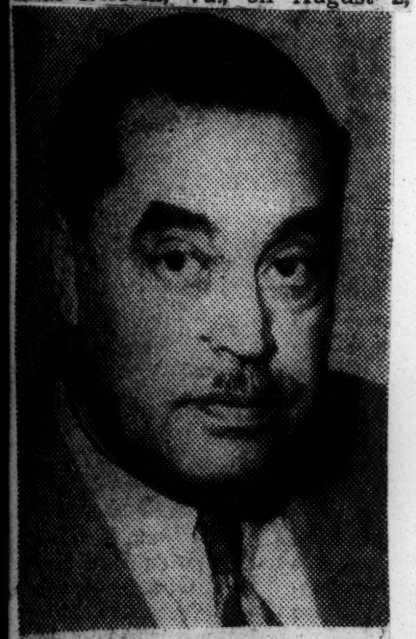
It is quite true that the future is not entirely clear, but there are certain fundamental laws of politics and economics that will operate by compulsion. They will have their effect upon us just as every other action and re-action operate upon us. All of these changes in the social structure of the nation will surely but slowly force us to depend more largely upon ourselves for our salvation.

Whatever benefits the American people cannot fail to help us. Whatever inspires progress, either in the North or the South, will pep up the Negro. Our destiny is the destiny of the American people. Our interests will be molded in the proposed blending and crystalization of the North and South. It cannot work out otherwise. If President Truman and his Civil Rights Program fails, Democracy has failed.

So, in 1950, our eyes are lifted to the rising sun . . . and onward, we march!

DUSTIN' OFF The NEWS

Lucius O. Harper, executive editor of The Chicago Defender left this week for a 36-day cruise to Cherbourg, France and Guatanamo, Cuba aboard the flagship Missouri as the guest of the U. S. Navy. The cruise is part of the training course for midshipmen of the U. S. Naval Academy at Annapolis. They will embark from Norfolk, Va., on August 2,



LUCIUS HARPER

returning to the United States about the last of September.

Mr. Harper, who is internationally known as one of the veterans of Negro journalism, will be a member of a small press party composed of representatives of the leading national newspapers, who will observe the sea-duty training programs of the Navy.

The USS Missouri, popularly known as the "Mighty Mo," participated in the sea battles with Japan during World War II, and it was on its deck that the Japanese surrender was accepted by General McArthur.

ABOARD THE USS MISSOURI AT SEA—Aug. 14 — We are plowing our way through the vast Atlantic toward Cherbourg, France, where we dock on the fifteenth. For some 14 days now, we've been battling the waves for over three thousand miles, and every inch of the way has been packed with thrills, activity and interest.



All along the route this battleship, the most spectacular of the U. S. Fleet has



Lucius Harper

been a mighty scientific and practical laboratory teaching sea warfare in all its phases.

Midshipmen from Annapolis, getting actual experience in conjunction with their classroom work, and students from various universities under the NROTC plan, are grinding away daily at their rigid lessons on how to protect Uncle Sam from invasion.

So practical are these instructions and so thoroughly are they required, it is my guess that these midshipmen doubt at times if this is actually a "Cold War."

Veterans of the Navy, schooled through actual combat in the last world conflict, give a good rating thus far of the conduct and aptness, the alertness and gameness that these students have demonstrated in tackling intricate and perplexing war problems.

Mingled in every department of the ship's crew and taking active part in the maneuvers are many colored lads who are "learning by doing" in the radar section, gun turrets, mechanic and engineering divisions. There is scarcely a group activity aboard that a "Dorie Miller" doesn't participate in.

The old theory, so long proclaimed by opponents to the Negro's entry into full participation in the Navy that "it just won't work," is being entirely dispelled by congeniality of spirit and solidarity of interest demonstrated by the young Americans aboard ship during these war games.

There hasn't been the slightest indication of any racial difficulties or unpleasantness, and midshipmen from the Academy and students from the seven universities here aboard represent every part of the country, the southern group in majority.

The spirit of young America on this task force cruise, regardless of their previous social amenities and customs, seems to be that "an enemy's torpedo has no color line," and that if America is ever forced to defend itself against foreign invasion, race prejudice will surely not be the hampering influence whin our own ranks to retard or make victory more difficult.

I see in evidence every effort to comply with the new naval program as I walk the decks of this ship during the war games.

Passing a gun turret, I saw Edward Murphy, a black boy from Livingstone, Va., a gunner's mate, serving as mount captain, giving instructions to midshipmen on anti-aircraft firing.

With him were two other Negroes: Conrad Shavers, Chicago and John Watson, Buffalo, seamen assigned to turret duty. Murphy instructs a crew of 20 in safety precautions, firing procedure and loading. He wears a phone connected with the gun control-talker who sends his orders direct from the sector officer. Many southerners come under his tutelage.

He began as an officer's cook, and during his enlistment, since 1939, has done war service on the cruiser Conrad and battleships Bancroft and Pitt. Last July he married Miss Louise McKenzie, Raleigh, N. C. He is 27 and has medals for duty in the Pacific and good conduct.

Every night from twelve to two, stands a little slender black boy of 20 at the steering-wheel of this 100 million dollar ship in the navigation tower. He steers it through the waters at whatever speed the control room signals may indicate. He works by highly technical instruments. He has been at this job over a year. He is Eley Downes, a high school graduate from Denton, Maryland. Downes was working in a cafe in Washington when a friend persuaded him to join the Navy. He began at the bottom, but is now a qualified helmsman.

Two hours in every 20 Downes is at the helm of this ship plotting it through the rough seas. He had never been on a ship before, and was here only three weeks when he was elected for training for his present duty. In addition, he is trainer for the midshipmen on methods of pointing the 16-inch guns in case of an attack, and is leadsman in the starboard chain, taking soundings to determine the water's depth.

Each day as we press correspondents ramble about the ship on observation tours, we make some interesting discoveries. We find Negro seamen at almost every post of duty. There was C. H. Mike, Brooklyn, electrician's mate, operating controls on the main electrical distribution board. Roscoe Strother, New York, mechanic's mate, was instruction midshipmen on operations of the steel lathe, and Green Penn, Austin, Texas, was doing off-set press work in the lithograph division, alongside his white mates, and down below William Shultz, Crawfordsville, Ind., was checking booster pumps, an important item, in the fire room.

So everywhere we turn there is a black seaman performing some important duty in this new Navy program.

Thus substantial and lasting changes in race relations are being made through all existing programs involving the full integration of the Negro in the U. S. Navy. The policies of integration once conceived as vague and idealistic at best, are now proving to be a medium through which democratic practices are being extended throughout the naval establishment. Enlightened opinion is realizing that efforts to improve race relations must start with features of interest and creative living which both groups hold in common and which appeal to the common needs of men for security, prestige, social and economic advancement.

Monday morning we land at Cherbourg, then to Paris and London on sightseeing tours.

On the twenty-second we hike for Guantanamo, Cuba, where the big guns fire in target practice. Hot as blazes down there, they say. Admiral Smith, however, took pity on his civilian guests and correspondents aboard last Thursday and issued us fleece-lined windbreakers to shield us from the ocean's sixty-degree coolness.

DUSTIN' OFF The NEWS

BY LUCIUS HARPER

However, They Did Get Service After A Protest

OFTIMES a letter comes in of such value, and commenting on a situation of condition of great interest to all that we like to give it as much prominence and display as possible. Such is the following from a Chicagoan, Mrs. Harvey A. Mackey, who calls this writer's attention to an unpleasant situation that occurred in Havana, Cuba. "Along the Color Line."



Lucius Harper

Of course, Mrs. Mackey was referring to the suggestion I made to folk who suffer daily from color proscription to relieve themselves from such a condition, for at least ten days, by visiting Cuba. I still maintain that position. I did not say race prejudice could not be found in Havana. Anywhere the American white man goes, he introduces it; and Havana is only 290 miles from Miami, Florida, and the influx of Americans is great. The miracle is that they have not as yet totally spoiled the place for colored American visitors. Mrs. Mackey's letter follows:

I was interested in reading the article of Mr. Lucius Harper in his column of recent date at which time he praised the attitudes toward Negroes which he found in Havana. Evidently Mr. Harper was with a different group of people and in a different section of Havana, for my husband and I have just returned from Cuba as of June 30, and saw an entirely different side which I should like to describe.

Not knowing anyone in Cuba we had only the address of a Cuban young lady, the daughter of a dentist, whom we looked up while there. That which we learned from her and her friends pointed up to there being a definite caste and class system in Cuba. A young black Cuban who escorted us around the city of Havana pointed out places where those of his color cannot go and if protest action should be made, he alleged, they probably would be arrested for disorderly conduct. We saw many attractive ice cream parlors while walking and started to go in but the young man (incidentally, he teaches English in one of the schools) told us his type was not accustomed to going into such places. When I questioned him further he admitted it was because of his color.

• • •

MY husband and I, who are light brown skin, went to a plaza restaurant and ice cream parlor alone, in the neighborhood of the Hotel Presidente where we were staying. The waiters made no attempt to seat us or take our orders and when I made inquiry in Spanish to the young woman at the counter inside she told me to get our ice cream at the fountain (incidentally, which had no seats.) I asked in Spanish again if we could not be served at the table and she replied in Spanish that she could not understand me and called, apparently, the manager. He spoke to me in English but I continued in Spanish realizing that from my accent he would know that we were Americans but at the same time to let him know that in his language I could understand the trick that was attempting to be pulled. When he realized we wanted ice cream he started toward the counter, and said, "How much." I asked if we could not receive service at the table. He looked embarrassed, said "Yes." I said, "Where." Again, he looked embarrassed and led us out to the plaza and called a waiter. The service was definitely inferior.

We travelled by bus almost 200 miles down into Cuba to the town of Santa Clara. I conversed with many dark Cubans, told them my reaction to Cuba as a Negro and they agreed that it was true—the difference in attitude toward those of color. One shoe shine boy stated that there are three provinces in Cuba, which is located at the Southeast tip of the island. However, we did not travel that far so we are unable to tell of any observations there.

• • •

WE did travel in Mexico from Mexico City to Acapulco, South, and East to the city of Merida on the Yucatan peninsula.

My impression after eight days in Cuba is that the Americans have infiltrated their prejudices to a degree in Cuba that even such a degree in Cuba that even the black Cuban feels discrimination against him in his own country. In regard to non-discrimination. We stayed at lovely resort hotels at Acapulco and at Lake Tequesquiienqa and not by word, look, or deed were we ever conscious of being Negroes. By my being a social worker I was interested in noting the attitudes evinced by those South of the border.

Sincerely,
Mrs. Harvey A. Mackey, 6145 St. Lawrence Ave.,
Chicago, Illinois.

DUSTIN' OFF the NEWS

(by LUCIUS Harper)



What Of The Past Ten Years? Recognition, Long Denied The Negro, Has Finally Arrived

WITHIN THE PAST decade the progress of the Negro has been more rapid than in any comparative years of history. Some may disagree with that statement, but on the whole I believe the facts will sustain it. Whatever may be said of the drawbacks we have suffered, the advancements in the civic, social and political brackets have far surpassed any disadvantages we have experienced.

There was a time near the turn of the century and for many years thereafter that our methods of protest and resentment against unfair legislation were not organized, locally or nationally, to the point of sufficient strength and cohesion to combat discriminatory practices against us. Because of the lack of such organization and mass-pressure efforts, Jim Crowism grew to enormous proportions and disfranchisement was permitted to become an established law. But down through the years we have learned by doing; we have perfected closely-knit organizational forces, both locally and nationally, and through such spirit of solidarity have retarded if not beaten off much class legislation. We have come to realize, most fully, that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

Now, that most everybody is reading, it is much easier to reach a wide audience and present our case than in former years. Our press, both locally and nationally, is being liberally patronized and supported. When "the word" was only vocal, we depended largely upon the pulpit and itinerant orators for inspiration and guidance in racial matters, but with the coming of wars, literature—the printed word—supplanted these oracles and the Negro "went back to school," as it were, to acquire a fuller and more complete knowledge of the affairs in which he was involved. In this great curriculum of public education the radio and television have been added, and one can now hear and even "see" the debates being waged in the affairs of men. Consequently, in this onsweep of new methods, of new thoughts and ideas to usher in a new era, the Negro has been marching at a rapid pace for the past ten years.

For proof of this advancement, we may recall some of our gains. We are back in Congress; beginning with one congressman after a lull of many, many years, we now have two. And we may have three—one may come from Mississippi, believe it or not when Mound Bayou "wakes up." We have had a Negro governor. We now have three Negro lawyers as judges in Federal courts. Too numerous to mention are the Negroes who have been elected or appointed to lower courts. The same may be said of Negroes who have become members of our state law-making bodies, and also of those in our city and state law enforcement agencies. Most everywhere our national government concerns itself with large overall programs, we find "Negro Assistants." We now have a Negro ambassador to a foreign country. We now have two embassies in Washington housing two Negro ambassadors from other countries, Haiti and Liberia.

In the United Nations Assembly a Negro served on one of the most important committees, actually settling one of its gravest questions which gave the Jewish race a homeland. Negroes have become instructors, full and part-time, in America's largest and most renowned universities and colleges; one holding a professorship at Harvard. A number of white-controlled law schools have Negro attorneys as lecturers on special legal subjects. In northern cities Negroes have reached the rank of captaincies in both the police and fire departments; upward of thirty-four of more southern cities have Negro policemen, even though they haven't as yet reached the status to arrest whites. Negroes are now students alongside of whites in southern colleges, and the years to come will bring more. And the South is being forced to give the Negro the ballot.

Two of the leading chemists of America are Negroes: Dr. Percy Julian and Dr. Lloyd Hall. We now find Negroes numbered among, and as members, of the highest ranking societies in the medical profession. In literature, Negro writers have produced some of the best selling novels of the past decade, their stories have been produced on stage and in Hollywood.

In the field of sports, Negroes have contributed their list of "greats" for the past decade. Joe Louis gained much dignity and respect for the prize-ring; Buddy Young, Kenny Washington and Marion Motley stand out in professional football, and the color line in major league baseball has been erased by the spectacular feats of Robinson, Campanella, Newcombe, Doby, Thompson and Paige in the Big line-up with Jethroe and others coming next season. In college football the Negro has won honors in the past ten years, and has been the most dependable ground-gainer. At Yale the "unthinkable" happened: a Negro was elected captain of the team and accepted in a college fraternity. In track competition and other events the Negro has held his own and been much in evidence.

With respect to the labor movement, the Negro has advanced far in this new era. He has and is now contributing his share of devotion to the cause, and directs as well as follows its creed and purposes with an almost religious fervor. He is found among its officials in nearly every craft.

In fact, the Negro has finally "arrived."

The real fact of the matter is that the Negro has been ready for such a reception long before the past ten years: there were always Negroes eligible and prepared to fill all the places we have enumerated, but it was the tardiness on part of the whites to fully recognize the Negro's ability and fitness, and to extend it a hearty welcome that so long retarded this progress and advancement program. Now that that reception is ripening everywhere, we may look forward to a better America in the years to come. It can not come too rapidly for all parties concerned.

AN EXICTING YOUNG NEGRO PIANIST
GIVES MEANING TO OUR MUSICAL HERITAGE

MARGARET BONDS is the most exciting young conert pianist I have heard in a long time. Under her fingers Mozart, or Bach take on a new meaning. Their melodies leap to instant life and go singing off on wings of their own. But Miss Bonds is one of the younger performers who, while paying the old masters their due, has the courage to seek out worthwhile compositions by composers of our own day and age, American as well as European, from the Dutch contemporary Bordewijk-Roepman to the sparkling piano pieces of the U.SA.'s Dorothea Freitag. Of contemporary works, however, it is Margaret Bond's own compositions that interest me most, and particularly what she does in pianistic form with Negro folk music. She has written and performs some of the most moving arrangements of Negro spirituals I have ever heard- which makes me wonder why more freguent use for the piano has not been made of these folk motifs. Hundreds of arrangements of or compositions based on the blues have been created in the popular field and performed by Count Basie and other piano entertainers. Certainly with their simple dignity and great depth, the spirituals lend themselves to similar treatment in the serious field. This is just what Maragret Bonds has done.

Losing nothing of their simplicity, she has enchanced with her own creativeness the original attributes of our most beautiful spirituals and has thereby greatly enriched the repertoire of compositions for solo piano. I hope a folio of Miss Bonds' work in this genre will sooon be published. Whether or not these pieces would have the same force and persuasiveness if performed by another artist, is a question I cannot answer. Certainly the composer herself gives to these compositions a piano life wht like of which I have never known before, Without in any way betraying the Negro idiom, she incorporates its rhythms into formal modes, as Mandel or Mozart might have done with Negro themes had they lived in our time.

From the spiritual, "Swing Low," for example, Miss Bonds makes a chorale of religious serenity, Bach-like in clarity and simplicity, mounting gently in emotional ecstasy until it becomes a jubilee, gay, touching, yet grand in a burst of heavenly joy. The composition begins in a mood of longing, merging into peace and calm—"Swing low, sweet chariot, coming for to carry me home." At the end, vibrant with harps and angels' wings, home becomes a very happy place. Her composition based on, "Peter, Go Ring Dem Bells," has the same naïve charm at the beginning—"Peter, go ring dem bells! I heard from heaven today," like a wistful little heartbreak finding its way at the end through faith to strength and power.

The dynamic forces of these old songs transposed into piano terms makes for exciting listening. With "Dry Bones," Margaret Bonds creates the loneliness of a graveyard, then the trumpet call, the bones rising, seeking out their mating parts, knitting together to an almost boogie rhythm, finally, the completed frames dancing, ending on the triumphant note of "That great getting-up-morning" The most stirring of four variations on the pirituals which I heard Miss Bonds do is her, "Wade In the Water." The sounds that emerged from the piano then took on the force of the whole up-ward march of our people through bondage, trouble, and sorrow to the light of day. I have seldom been so moved by any music in a concert hall.

Defender
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Chicago, Ill.



LANGSTON Hughes

31a

To Sleep, Perchance To Dream Is One of Life's Unfailing Dreams

I HAVE never been a person bothered with sleeplessness. In fact, my trouble is just the other way around. I can sleep so deeply and so long that sometimes it takes me two or three hours to come to myself after I get up. That is why I do most of my writing at night because there are days when, no matter what time I arise, it is nightfall before I really awaken.

Daylight hurts my eyes, anyhow. I must be related to an owl, or possibly a mole. I see better, think better, and work better at night, and I seldom get sleepy. But in the daytime, if inactive, I can go to sleep at the drop of a hat. And don't let me get in a barber chair! As soon as the clippers start whirring I can sleep as well as if I were in my own bed. Also cars, busses, trains, or planes have a way of putting me to sleep as soon as they start moving. Once I slept all the way from Chicago to California in a day coach, waking up only to eat.

When the train pulled into the station at Los Angeles, the lady in the seat next to mine awakened me, remarking, "My! You sure can sleep!" Since she was a white lady, I felt right embarrassed, thinking to myself, "Now, she will believe all Negroes are sleepy heads."

A few years ago after some rather harassing experiences on a long cross-country lecture tour, I got back to New York thinking to myself that my nerves ought to be shot, even if they were not. So, I went to my doctor whom I hadn't seen in eight years. My doctor said he didn't find anything wrong with me, but perhaps I might be over-tired or upset, so he gave me a bottle of sleeping pills and told me to take two before going to bed. That night I forgot to take the pills—still I slept twelve hours. Until this day, I never took sleeping tablets. But someday I might try one and see how much longer I sleep.

People who can read in bed, I envy greatly. Some folks say they cannot go to sleep without reading. I can't read without going to sleep. The last time I took a book to bed with me, I opened it every night for a whole week, and never got beyond the second paragraph. So, I no longer carry books to bed. I don't listen to the radio in bed either, because after I go to bed I can't hear it. I must be hard of hearing once my head hits the pillow.

During the Civil War in Madrid, I slept through a bombardment that awakened everybody else in the house. I didn't even know it had happened until the next day.

It is not very often that I dream. Some people have the most interesting dreams to recount almost every morning. And those who play numbers are always dreaming up 552 or 719 or some other combination. Unfortunately, I never dreamed a number in my life. When I do dream, it is seldom anything I can remember clearly the next day. And if I do remember, it is usually something not to be found in a Dream Book. Folks who are troubled with sleeplessness tell me that just to be able to sleep is to be lucky. I believe them. "To sleep, perchance to dream," is a lovely quotation—but just to sleep is enough for me.

I hear tell that there is on the market a new sponge rubber mattress that is most conducive to deep, sound, and restful snoozing. I do not believe I will investigate it. I sleep eight, ten, or twelve hours now on any old mattress that I chance to lie upon. On sponge rubber I might sleep myself away. That would be too much of a good thing.

By-LANGSTON HUGHES

AMERICAN CITIZENS SHOULD NOT HAVE TO HAVE ANYONE TO FRONT FOR THEM, BUT WE DO.

"When I want to do something really important, I get a white man to front for me," one of the best known Negroes in America once told me.

Just the other day a vivid illustration of this need to "get a white man to front" for one came to my attention. A young Negro, former G.I., wishing to go into business in Harlem, made arrangements through his real estate agent to rent an empty store fronting one Harlem's main streets. As the arrangements were about concluded, the real estate agent informed him that the landlord, learning that his client was colored, had backed down on the deal, in fact, the owner of the building stated flatly that he would not rent to Negroes.

The fact that his building is in the very middle of Harlem on one of the main Negro streets, made no difference. He wished to rent only to white business men. To get around this business prejudice, the young Negro, a former G.I. who had fought for his country, had to form a corporation with another young Negro and a white friend. They then had the white friend "front for them" as a representative of the corporation. With a white man doing the negotiating the landlord was entirely amenable to renting his property.

That a colored citizen in this democratic America of ours should have to resort to such a subterfuge in order to open a small business in the very heart of a Negro neighborhood, seems to me most regrettable. But such things take place every day.

I know a young photographer whose pictures appear in nationally-known magazines all the time. He is tops in his profession. But when the company insuring his photographic equipment learned he was a Negro living in Harlem, they cancelled his insurance. Only because he was lucky enough to have had a whire college classmare whose father was also in the insurance business, was this young Negro able to secure another policy on his cameras and equipment. A white man had "to front for him."

Another good example of this need for a "white front" is the song writing game. Duke Ellington has white collaborators. Bennie Benjamin has white

collaborators. Almost without exception, the only Negroes who get their songs published and plugged are those who team up with whites. One has only to talk with any of the colored musicians or lyricists along Broadway to learn how bitter they are about this situation. That America's popular music owes all its rhythm and charm to Negro sources makes no difference. If a black man wants to get ahead in the song writing business today, he'd better "get a white man to front for him." That is, no doubt, one of the reasons why Negro show business is in a sorry state- no more Cole and Johnsons, no more Williams and Walkers, no more Whitman Sisters. No More real freedom for Negro creative genius in the entertainment fields. Maybe that is the reason many young Negro musicians have resorted to Be-Bop- something that's pretty hard for whites to copy with any degree of accuracy.

Folks in this deomocratic America ought to be able to go into any kind of business they wish,commercial or amusement field, without having to get anybody else to "front for them" just because they are black and not white. After all, what has color got to do with making money? It should not have anything to do with it-but it does! Money doesn't care who spends it. But in America, it still cares who makes it. Our democracy tries its best to limit money making to white folks.

Defender
Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 10-15-49



LANGSTON Hughes

The Fascination Of Harlem As Great As Ever, Despite The Heat

SUMMER in New York—and this year of our Lord, 1949, is one of the hottest. Harlem overflows onto stoops and sidewalks. Seventh Avenue is alive with folks day and night. The few air-cooled bars and places of amusement are havens of comfort. (Which makes one wonder why Harlem does not have air-cooled public places such as there are downtown.) Summer visitors are legion. Everybody from Bricktop to Clarence Muse has dropped in to see me. The Theresa is crowded. And as soon as summer schools let out, more visitors will arrive—which helps to make life lively.

Away up on Sugar Hill in a large room rented expressly for that purpose, Hale Woodruff and Charles "Spinky" Alston have been working all summer on their colorful murals for the new Golden State Insurance Building in Los Angeles. Their two great paintings depict the early history of the Negro in California—and a rich and wonderful history it is! Their giant canvasses are filled with figures of valor, excitement, and adventure from the dusky founders of Los Angeles to the woman who shipped arms from the Barbary Coast to John Brown. It would have been an artistic and informative treat could these murals have had a public showing in New York before being shipped to their permanent home in the West.

Downtown at the Majestic Theatre all summer Juanita Hall has been giving her star-calibre performance of Bloody Mary in the musical hit, "South Pacific", for which she has recently received Billboard's Donaldson Award as the best supporting actress of the season. In another hit musical, "Kiss Me, Kate", three Negro performers, Lorenzo Fuller, Fred Davis, and Eddie Sledge, stop the show cold with their song and dance number, "Too Darn Hot", at the opening of the second act. And the race-problem pictures, "Home of the Brave" and "Lost Boundaries" have been enjoying successful Broadway runs. Uptown at the Apollo, "Anna Lucasta" has played a return engagement with Canada Lee, proving that Harlemites like good drama if given a chance to attend it.

Harlem has a new Negro-owned drink and dine place where proprietor Al Watts or his courteous host or hostess greets you at the door. The food is excellent. It is called the Ebony Lounge at 144th and Amsterdam. Frenchy Winthrope and his wife who spent many years in Paris are in charge of the cuisine. And, for the sake of foreign visitors or to the delight of localites who like to practice, French is spoken. Harlem has a number of bilingual English-Spanish restaurants, but the Ebony is the only English-French place I know.

Clarence Muse, who has just completed a singing and acting role in a Bing Crosby film, brought to town with him some of his new songs recorded on the coast. I particularly liked "Muse-A-While" sung by the Old Maestro himself with Dusty Brooks and the Four Tones. It ought to be a favorite with the disc jockeys and the public. In television, Maxine Sullivan has been caroling like a bird of late and looking as pretty as a picture. She is to that medium what Lena Horne is to the screen—completely photogenic. Another television hit locally is the Three Flames with the inimitable Tiger Haynes clowning and crooning to the public's delight. Video seems to be a made-to-order medium for brown faces, and Negro voices take to the cameras well.

Two big guys, Joe Louis and Paul Robeson, attract gazes whenever they appear on the Harlem streets this summer. Both of them have quite easy-going personalities that make people like them just by sight in spite of knock-out fists and knock-out words. Largely sight-unseen, since most folks can't make it to the ball parks, almost every afternoon colored ball players have possession of the air-waves. Harlem's half-million radios are all tuned to the Dodgers every time they play. And the record shop loudspeakers are blaring the new Buddy Johnson record about Jackie Robinson hitting that ball! So it goes with the race in Harlem, New York, summer. 1949.



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LANGSTON Hughes

With The Crumbling Of The Old Chain, Jim Crow Crumbles, Too

What is happening in China is important to Negroes, in fact, to people of color all around the world, because each time an old bastion of white supremacy crumbles its falling weakens the whole Jim Crow system everywhere. Under the Nationalist government in China with its white western backers, there was a great deal of Jim Crow. I saw it with my own eyes in Shanghai and Nanking when I was there before the war. Being colored, I felt it, too. I do not like Jim Crow in either Chicago or China. The majority of Chinese people did not like Jim Crow either. But the Chinese Uncle Toms liked Jim Crow because they grew rich from it. Chiang Kai-shek was a Chinese Uncle Tom.

Emerging slowly from feudalism with large sections of the country dominated by war-lords, China has long had slavery—child-slavery, woman-slavery, "white-slavery." From this ancient slavery white westerners have long profited along with the rich Chinese. Factories in which children purchased from their parents at an early age worked twelve and fifteen hours a day under guards brought huge profits to foreign and Chinese investors alike. Child prostitution and the dope rackets profited people in far off London and Paris. Our own United States, with large investments in China, supported the Chiang Kai-shek regime that permitted these antiquated and inhuman exploitations to exist.

I am not speaking of what I have read. I am speaking of what I saw myself in China. With American Y.W.C.A. workers I visited factories in Shanghai where children of eight to twelve worked from dawn to dusk under overseers who carried bamboo canes to throttle them if they became idle. I saw the miserable dormitories where these purchased children slept in virtual imprisonment. And I was told that wealthy and respectable stock-holders in far off Tokyo and London and New York and Paris lived on the dividends produced by the frail hands of these children.

In Shanghai's International Settlement where the great powers of the world had their consulates and their laws and their police, I saw in the amusement centers children with guardians, not there to enjoy themselves, but rather offered in prostitution to any wishing to pay the fee asked by their "nurses." American newspaper men explained to me that often very poor parents sold their offspring into this horrible business rather than see them starve.

Quite openly in Shanghai before the war one might see a white foreigner curse or even strike a rickshaw driver—the rickshaws being the human taxis of the East pulled by a man running, running, running all the time. No policeman would arrest a white foreigner for striking a rickshaw man—just as no policeman would arrest a white man for striking a Negro in parts of Mississippi or Georgia today.

In Shanghai when I was there, there was a big Y.M.C.A. building for whites and a kind of "Harlem" Branch, separate and elsewhere, for Chinese and other colored peoples. There were, right in China's greatest city, many hotels and restaurants for EUROPEANS ONLY, which meant WHITE ONLY. Such was the nerve of the western powers in the Far East before the Japanese invaded the mainland of Asia! The Japanese swept the color-line out of existence. But the Japanese did not sweep away exploitation and child-labor. That is why the revolutionary armies now sweeping over China are doing a better job. They are not only against color-lines and Jim Crow. They are also against child-labor, child-prostitution, dope-rackets with headquarters in Europe, and dividend collectors who grow rich in far away lands from the dawn to dusk hours of Chinese workers.

31a 1949

Negro (Emory O. Jackson)

Release Editor Under $300 Bond

Pittsburgh Courier

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — Released under $300 bond last week, Emory O. Jackson, editor of the Birmingham World, has been charged with buying, receiving and concealing stolen property.

Detective Murray Hancock said that Jackson admitted buying a typewriter from Bernard Burkett, 222 Fourteenth Street, which had been stolen from the Hooper City School Dec. 14.

Jan 3-15-49

Negro (Cliff Mackay)

NEWS IN TABLOID

(Condensed from Reports by AFRO, NNPA and ANP, Correspondents)

By CLIFF MACKAY, AFRO Managing Editor

Peekskill Veterans Missed Their Real Target

The fascist-minded veterans who staged the bloody riot at Peekskill missed their real target. It wasn't the father, but the son they were after. Observers point to the fact that the only colored persons beaten were those in the company of white girls. By the process of elimination they hoped to give Paul Robeson Jr., a taste of American fascism, clothed in the stars and stripes. But both Pauls fooled them. The elder sat in a car a safe distance from the disturbance. Junior and his wife were attending nearby Camp Unity and did not emerge until the later rally following the riot. . . Curiosity enough at the same time Peekskill veterans were tearing up the U. S. Bill of Rights, Europeans at Strasbourg, France were adopting it. The 11-point program drawn up by the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe included these rights: "Freedom of speech and expression of opinion," and "Freedom of association." These were the very points of the U. S. Constitution Peekskill veterans sought to nullify.



Paul Robeson Jr.

Speaking of veterans, the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars acted in unison at their national conventions. The Legion meeting at Philadelphia strongly condemned communism, but very lightly tapped the KKK without mentioning it by name. The VFW used verbatum the same words in resolutions passed at Miami. The VFW did add that Robeson (we won't fight) statement "bordered on treason" and was a grevious insult to the patriotism of American colored citizens. . . Miami tenants have Greedy landlords have upped rents from $5.50 to $27 a week in their problems since rent controls were lifted in Dade county. colored neighborhoods. . . The colored residential section suffered the most at Delray Beach during the recent hurricane. More than 100 homes were left without roofs. The same was true at Fort Pierce where 80% of the homes in the colored section were destroyed.

Most history textbooks fail to record it, but the "brains of the Confederacy" was a Jew, Judah P. Benjamin. A senator from Louisiana in 1852, he served as Secretary of War and Secretary of State in Jeff Davis's rebel cabinet. He was married to a Catholic. . . The $500,000 libel suit filed by Florida Gov. Millard Caldwell against Collier's magazine has been settled for $50,000. Caldwell sent $25,000 of the money to Florida A. and M. College. . . The suit grew out of the lynching of Jesse J. Payne at Madison, Fla., in 1946. . . Dr. J. C. Holley, dentist-son of Talmadge-backer J. W. Holley, hanged himself in his Macon, Ga., office. He was reportedly despondent because his wife, now a Government employee in Washington, had left him. . . When one policeman beats up another, that is really news. It happened in Cincinnati. Patrolman Mallacai Bryant, 39, suffered scalp wounds at the hands of fellow Patrolman William Powell, Bryant, off duty, was removing a drunk patron from a restaurant. Powell, also off duty, saw Bryant with his pistol drawn, jumped into the affray with a swinging blackjack.

Hattie McDaniel became a "grandmother" in Los Angeles last week. Her pedigreed Dalmatian, Nancy Ann, had six pups by Caesarian delivery. . . The Story of Phyllis Wheatley by Shirley Graham will be published by Julian Messnee, 8 W. 40th St., NYC, Sept. 30. It will sell for $2.75. . . "I am tired, no fun. I kill myself. Ha-ha.". That's the note left by Mrs. Elizabeth Daniels, white, after fatally shooting herself. She had been married to three colored men. The husband, Ernest Daniels, could give no reason for the act. . . John McClary, 55, convicted of murdering three wives, won a delay in his Sept. 2 execution date. McClary served a term for killing his first wife, was on leave from the S.C. chain-gang for murdering his second, when he killed his third. He's now at Columbia.

Two 4-year-old boys, one white and one colored, were $250 richer in Detroit. They found a brace belonging to a 7-year-old white polio victim. The reward was offered by a daily newspaper. Bobby Hall and Tony Sanchez, white, found the brace while playing "cowboys and Indians" . . . New York's Hotel Theresa has spent $200,000 for a new ballroom, coffee shop and cocktail lounge. The lobby and rooms are being done over and many personnel changes are being made. . . Philadelphia's Plaza Hotel is living the past. Mr. and Mrs. Leon White of Detroit made reservations and paid for accommodations. When they showed up, the red-faced clerk turned them down, refunded their money. . . Cookie snatching is serious business to Carroll Johnson, 11, of Chicago. He opened fire when James Searcy attempted to steal a cookie from his cousin's newstand counter. Searcy died. . . Of the 300 persons on the White House staff, more than 50 are colored.

They Really Said It: "Quote and Unqoute"

"There are four classes of people in our group as related to different questions of human relationship. They include those who are insincere and think that bowing to a dominant group with their hats under their arms will get them what they want; those who are tired of the struggle and difficulties confronting them and close in with the best bargain so that they may live the rest of their lives out in peace; the "ultra-radical" crowd which is not satisfied with anybody or anything, stirs up strikes and works to a revolutionary objective; and those who are respectful and cooperative, but only on a basis of mutual respect."—Dr. Channing H. Tobias, director, Phelps-Stokes Fund, speaking to the 197 summer graduates of Texas State University, Houston.



Dr. Tobias

"The refusal of Congress to pass a fair employment act of any kind after six years of relatively successful operation by FEPC is difficult to explain at home and abroad. It would seem to indicate to the world that we are a people of ill-will to our fellow man at home if he is of a different race, nationality, or creed. Employment discrimination is faced by a lot of people in the United States. Altogether, America's minorities number about 33 million persons. Now, 33 million people are a lot of dissatisfied persons when this nation is in an ideological struggle with a nation which proposes to secure economic rights for all even if at a loss of civil rights."—Dr John A. Davis, professor, political science, Lincoln (Pa.) University.

"You can't solve your problem by running away from it. Those who run will face it again but in increased proportion. Mr. White should know that colored people are made of stronger stuff than that. We are proud of our race; we are proud of our heritage. What we ask in America is equal opportunity to become first-class citizens—no more, no less. We have shown through our every concerted act that that is our goal. We are not cowards. Whitening of one's skin would not solve a racial problem. It would confuse it. The impact of the problem would come back with greater force. When there is a determination to discriminate because of race, means will be devised to do so, bleaching of the skin, straightening of the hair, plastic surgery, notwithstanding. There is but one way to cure this cancerous malady of race discrimination that is gnawing at the vitals of our very security. And that is to recognize every person on the basis of his merit, regardless of his race, creed, or nationality."—N. B. Allen, national president of the Frontiers Club of America, speaking over radio station WBNS, Columbus, Ohio.



Mr. Allen

NEWS IN TABLOID

By CLIFF MACKAY, AFRO Managing Editor

A Turning Point in American Legal History

"Madam Foreman, have you agreed upon a verdict?"

"We have" the attractive and smartly dressed young woman said in a faint voice.

"How say you?"

"The jury finds each of the defendants guilty," replied the foreman, Mrs. Thelma Dial, a Harlem housekeeper, in a quivering voice that was not audible in the back of the courtroom.



Geo. Crockett

Thus marked the end of the longest and most unusual criminal trial in American legal history. Nine months in duration, the trial marked the first time in this country that leaders of a political party had been convicted because of their beliefs.

Found guilty were 11 of America's top Communists, including Ben Davis Jr., NYC councilman and Henry Winston. Also sentenced were the six lawyers who dared to defend them. Federal Judge Harold Medina charging the lawyers with conspiring to impair his health so that a mistrial would be declared, threw the six in jail on contempt charges. Drawing the lesser sentence of four months was George Crockett of Detroit. It was the first time in history that both defendants and lawyers found themselves convicted at the same time in an American court. It was not an unusual situation in Hitler's Germany.

Handcuffed the Communists were led off to the Federal House of Detention where they will await sentencing next Friday. Judge Medina refused bail pending argument of appeal motions. The tough, 61-year-old Brooklyn jurist had his revenge. But yet to speak on this strange kind of jurisprudence is the United States Supreme Court.

At the same time the Communists were being convicted, a sequel to another trial, unusual in American history, was being written. Mrs. Amy Mallard, whose husband was lynched at Lyons, Ga., last November 20, was back in the news. She disclosed word had been received that her well-kept home in Georgia had been burned. The letter read: "Your house has been burned down. I guess the lumber in it was so fat and the house was built so solid they had a hard time getting it to burn. But when it got started you could see the flames for three miles around. I guess the Klan wanted to threaten us with it. But we aren't going to be intimidated like that down here anymore."

So Ben Davis Jr., born at Dawson, Ga., not far from Lyons goes to prison. And Georgia lynchers, who blissfully thumb their noses at the FBI, go free to lynch again and again. Not satisfied with taking a man's life, they must also burn down his widow's property. Just who would you think is engaged in 'overthrowing the government by force and violence', the 11 noisy Communists in New York or the brutal lynch-arsonists of Georgia?

Riding one mile on a bus has cost Mrs. Smithie Reynolds of Mt. Airy, N.C., $80.15. She failed to take the back seat of a bus. The judge's $25 fine and costs totaled $80.25, the bus ride ten cents. Episcopalians decided to sit on that resolution calling for the abolition of segregated churches. Delegates voted that the resolution, introduced by Clifford Morehouse of Milwaukee, be excused from further consideration. That's a polite way of saying nothing will be done about it . . . The House of Delegates to the Medical Society of Virginia, by a narrow vote, decided not to admit colored doctors. While denying them membership the group piously resolved that "all reasonable efforts should be made to encourage and assist these men (colored doctors) in their ambition for professional advancement and improvement."

Even Memphis preachers are not permitted to see the film, "Lost Boundaries" at a private showing. A group had gathered behind locked doors to get a peek at the picture barred by Censor Lloyd T. Binford. But they had underrated Binford's power. Police showed up, blocked the exhibit. "It's inimical to public welfare and morals," Binford said. . . Geoffrey T. Joiner, 5, is at last legally the son of his ex-GI father, Trennon Joiner. The final adoption papers were issued last week by a Cleveland court. Little Geoffrey was flown to the U.S. from Australia earlier this year after he had been deserted by his white Australian mother.

Elks Grand Legal Counsel Perry Howard writes that this column was in error in that item about Grand Exalted Ruler J. Finley Wilson He denies that any pow-wow of big Elks was held at the 'grand's' house to select a possible successor in the event of his death. Under the lodge rules, he says, the Grand Esteemed Leading Knight fills the unexpired term. So sorry, Brother Howard. . . Funeral services for Mrs. Minnie D. Singleton, for 20 years editor of the colored section of the white Macon, Ga., Telegraph, were held last week. Death was attributed to cerebral hemorrhage. . . Joe Robinson, 62, a chief, was killed when a Chicago bound Rock Island passenger train piled up in a washed out road near Meade, Kans.



Mr. Howard

Convicted in the murder of her husband, Mrs. Katie Mae Cissel, 42, received a suspended sentence at Louisville, Ky., when it was discovered that she has cancer. Doctors gave her only six months to live. . . Clifford Jackson of Jersey City, N.J., a student at Lincoln (Pa.) University has been admitted to the Chester, County, Pa., hospital, suffering from a mild case of polio. . . Mrs. J. A. Gregg, wife of the AME bishop, is recovering in a Jacksonville, Fla., hospital after a serious operation. A German physician has inserted a silver ball in her hip socket, injured in a fall some years ago. . . Publishers of the N. Y. Amsterdam News are appealing a $4,172.50 verdict given the Rev. Alger L. Adams, former managing editor. The suit was filed for breach of contract after Adams had been fired. . . . The Adams Taxi Service of Cambridge, Md., boasts in its advertising, "white chauffeurs only." A poll taken of regular passengers disclosed that the public has no objection to riding in cabs with colored drivers. One passenger expressed himself very strongly about it.

GERTRUDE Martin

31a

Magazines Evincing Great Interest In Race Problems

MAGAZINE articles on the Negro or related subjects seem to come in groups and right now there are a number in a variety of magazines. Among these is the article by Harold Martin on the Klan in the October 22 Saturday Evening Post. Mr. Martin discusses the various groups with different names, but like aims, which now exist in the South but he thinks that the heyday of the Klan is over.

An excellent article in the November Woman's Home Companion tells how children become prejudiced, and emphasizes that little bigots are made, not born.

The October issue of Harper's Magazine features an article called, "The Fernwood Incident." It tells of one of many explosive housing incidents in Chicago.

Ralph McGill writes an article on conditions in the South in the November Atlantic Monthly.

* * *

CHINA CLARIFIED

Pearl Buck's article, "Our Dangerous Myths About China," in the New York Times' magazine section, dated October 23, discusses the misconceptions about China which hinder our adoption of a sound policy toward that nation. In simple, clear language, Miss Buck makes the whole question intelligible.

* * *

GREAT BOOKS FOUNDATION

The Great Books Foundation announces that complete sets of collections from the classics are now available in inexpensive form. Published by the Henry Regnery Company of Chicago, each set contains 18 readings, some of which cover only portions of works considered too long to be studied in full by the Great Books community discussion groups. The sets sell for $9.50 and are well worth the price. The editions are pocket-size with paper covers, although a trifle larger than the usual pocket books.

Each of the four sets covers a year's reading program as outlined for the Great Books discussion groups. These groups are made up of 20 to 40 persons who are required only to know how to read and to be willing to talk. Meetings are held every other week for two hours in the evening and there are 18 meetings in each year's program. These groups are certainly a help in understanding and interpreting the works books included on the Great Books program. But for anyone who, for some reason cannot become a member, the books themselves offer means of broadening his field of knowledge. The comparatively inexpensive price should make it possible for many persons to enjoy them. More information about discussion groups may be obtained from the Great Books Foundation, P. O. Box NN, Chicago 90 Ill. Sets of books may be secured at local bookstores or also at the Foundation office.

CORRECTION

Someone has called to my attention the fact that I overlooked the new book by Dr. Lorenzo Turner, "Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect," when I stated several weeks ago that no major work by a Negro author was scheduled for fall publication. However, I should have said, no book in the general trade field. Dr. Turner's work is a specialized work published by the University of Chicago Press, and certainly should have been mentioned.

GERTRUDE Martin

Here Is A Fresh View Of Race Question In Britain

31a

A BOOK written by a visiting British professor at Fisk University recently came to my attention and I believe it is a "must" for all those interested in Negro-white relationships.

The book, "Negroes In Britain," is as the sub-title states "a study of racial relations in English society." Dr. Little was lecturer in Anthropology at the London School of Economics and Political Science when he wrote the work.

Many of the facts uncovered by Dr. Little seem to be at variance with some of the stories that our soldiers brought back from England. The work makes it clear that color prejudice operates very strongly against Negroes in employment and other areas of life and it describes riots which are not well known among us. While the discrimination against Negroes in England is more subtle, the study shows that Negroes resident in England do not have as easy a time as some of us thought.

The most enlightening chapters deal with the early history of Negroes on the island and the development of English racial attitudes. In the early 18th Century, Dr. Little points out that "the great ladies and the courtesans of the period were not slow to perceive the advantage of having a black-skinned attendant beside them the better to show off the whiteness of their own skins . . . Artists of the period used the Negro as a means of aesthetic expression both on canvas and on the signboards of inns, and were quick to perceive the enhanced brilliancy of colour obtained by contrast with his dark skin."

Dr. Little quotes a letter from the Duchess of Devonshire to her mother. She wrote: "Dear Mama, George Hanger has sent me a Black boy, eleven years old and very honest, but the duke don't like me having a black, and yet I cannot bear the poor wretch being ill-used; if you like him instead of Michel I will send him, he will be a cheap servant and you will make a Christian of him and a good boy; if you don't like him they say Lady Rockingham wants one."

By contrast Dr. Little points out, "there is plenty of evidence that individual Negroes in England won respect and a position for themselves on their own merits. Coloured men who acquired wealth and patronage were received without reservation in the highest circles. A French mulatto, the Chevalier Georges de St. Georges, son of the Marquis de Langey and a Negro slave, was a personal friend of the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV, and as the champion swordsman of his day, and an accomplished rider, skater, and violinist, once set the fashion in the English as well as the French courts."

Dr. Little's book is crammed with factual information which is worth wading through some of the academic writing that characterizes most scientific studies. It was published in 1948, by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., at 68-74 Carter Lane, London, E.C.4. The book is worth the trouble to get it. It costs 25 shillings or about $3.00.

MAYS

Respectable Positions Are No Guarantee of Safety for a Negro In the 'White' South

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

IF any Negro thinks that his relative respective position will enable him to escape the insults which the so-called mass Negro experiences, he is either naive or stupid. The Negro in public life so far as he is known by the public or known by a particular white person may and often does receive preferential treatment when compared with the treatment which a Negro receives who is not well known.



Dr. Mays

But let a disguised Ralph Bunche and a disguised hotel porter move around together or separately in many sections of America, and particularly in the South, and one will discover that the person of Ralph Bunche is no more secure than the person of his companion, the hotel porter. Or let a disguised Mary McLeod Bethune, a disguised or an unknown Charlotte Hawkins Brown move around separately or in company with a Negro maid and one will discover that Doctors Bethune and Brown would be called Mary or Charlotte or Auntie as quickly as the maid. And even in many cases where and when the difference is known it would make no difference. Both the two distinguished educators and the maid might be called by their first names.

The difference might come primarily in the behavior of Mrs. Brown, Mrs. Bethune, and that of the maid. The maid might accept it without protest for fear of her job or for some other reason. The two educators would not accept it. They would protest. But to the average white person accustomed to disregarding the Negro's personality all three would be nothing but Negroes to him. Ralph Bunche could be beaten up and jailed as quickly as the hotel porter. Both are Negroes and any Negro can be kicked around by a white person without fear of punishment in many sections of America.

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WELL-TO-DO, good behaving Negroes, Negroes who have lived in a community for decades, have been killed or beaten up and run out of town for no other reason than the belief they were too prosperous or too upstanding for a Negro. Recently a prosperous Negro was killed in Georgia because he did not want white men fishing in the pond on his land which was posted. Nothing will be done about it. No Negro is immune.

• • •

A FEW YEARS ago Roland Hayes was beaten up because his wife was mistreated in a store and he went to see what it was all about. It was his home community. But to the people who beat Hayes, he was just a Negro and a Negro can be beaten up or killed any time he "acts like a white man." Some years ago, a leading Negro businessman, nationally known, was struck, I believe, at a soda fountain. That he is a great man by any measurement made no difference. He is a Negro. Not too long ago, a professor in an Atlanta college was arrested and fined because he went through the white waiting room in Atlanta. Some time ago a Morehouse professor was beaten up and jailed in Mississippi because he protested the crowded condition in the Negro coach when an adjoining one was virtually empty. Even Marian Anderson was prohibited from walking through the white waiting room in Atlanta not many years ago.

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A FEW DAYS ago, the writer was threatened by a Georgia patrolman. He mistook the patrolman's signal. Two cars were standing on the side street of the road. The patrolman gave a signal which I interpreted to mean to "keep going." He stormed at me and my explanation that I mistook his signal was not well received. He made it clear that if I didn't hush he would knock me out of the car. And if he had done that or shot me on the spot nothing much, if anything, would have been done.

Although I have never owned nor carried a pistol, all he would have needed to say in court was that "I put my hand in my pocket as if reaching for my gun." Two or three weeks ago in Alabama, an intelligent college Negro was arrested and fined $100 mainly because he didn't say "Yes,sir" and would not allow the white man to whip him. He was charged with threatening the white man.

• • •

OUR DESTINY IS one destiny. The life of the "greatest" Negro is no more secure than that of the "smallest" Negro even though a few of us can escape some insult and abuse by our position. But make no mistake. No Negro is immune. We must fight this battle together: the privileged Negro and the less privileged Negro. And all white friends who believe in decency and fair play. Thank goodness that number is on the increase.

MAYS

Air Force Integration Is Further Proof That We Don't Have to Wait To End Segregation

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

SEPTEMBER 18, 1949, an article appeared in the New York Times stating that "Mixed Races Train Well in Air Force."

My readers are well acquainted with the fact that jim-crow training facilities have been abolished in the Air Force. When this article was written, the integration of the white and Negro Air Force enlistees had been going on for ten weeks. Maj. Gen. Charles L. Lawrence, commanding general of the indoctrination division of the Air Force air training command, was quoted as saying there has been no discord.



Mr. Mays

The Negro and white air men "live, eat and study as a body and the grouping together of Negro and white personnel has not caused any incidents." The general goes on to say that the integration was perfected with complete harmony. As the public may recall, orders went through to end segregation on a certain date. When that date came, it was ended and that was that. The article goes on to say that Negroes often lead the mixed flights.

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AT THIS BASE, Lackland, there are 26,000 persons and the base covers nine square miles. It is in Texas. It is further proof that we do not have to wait a hundred years nor ten years to put an end to segregation.

As I have said and written many, many times, when people make up their minds they can do what they want. To say that the Government could not have done this ten years ago because the "time wasn't ripe" is pure nonsense. It could have been done in the U. S. Army fifty years ago. All that was needed was somebody who had courage enough and who believed in right to go ahead and execute the orders. The Army is totalitarian; it is autocratic.

The Army could end segregation everywhere in its ranks in thirty days and nothing would happen. It isn't the masses that we need to fear, it is the big folks, the people at the top. When big men, people at the top, our leaders are afraid to take a stand, then the masses take over. But they will follow courageous leadership, good or bad.

The masses followed Hitler in evil ways and the American masses would have followed Roosevelt if he had had the courage to abolish segregation in the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force. It often happens that when the leaders fail to act, they are protecting their own prejudices.

• • •

IF BRANCH RICKEY had not opened up big league baseball to Negroes, most people would have been going around telling the same old lie: "The time isn't ripe." But Rickey made the time ripe by discovering a good exhibit and putting him on the Brooklyn team. A few tongues wagged, but not for long.

In a few brief years, the American public has accepted Negroes in professional baseball. Today Jackie Robinson, Campanella, Doby, Satchel Paige, Newcombe and others are esteemed by th public as much as the white players. We could have argued for another fifty years that the "time isn't ripe." But Rickey has insight and he has courage. He knows that the time is always ripe. Good leadership is not merely sensing what the crowd wants and doing that. It is also leading the crowd to accept that which is obviously right.

No leadership is worth its salt that doesn't lead in the latter direction as well as in the former.

• • •

I READ TODAY something that makes my heart glad. I see that the Department of Justice is asking the United States Supreme Court to reverse a decision of a lower court, the Federal District Court of Baltimore, which ruled that "separate but equal accommodations" for Negroes on dining cars is constitutional.

The Department of Justice maintains that the Interstate Commerce Commission's order which approves the segregated dining car regulation is invalid and violates the Federal Constitution. This may be the hand of President Truman in a determined effort to get some of his civil rights measures through. I contend that the time has always been ripe to end segregation in the dining car. And if the Supreme Court rules against the lower court and thus abolishes the curtain and the petition nothing will happen. There will be no race riots. People will obey a good law just as they will a bad one.

MAYS

Mrs. Bethune's Successor Must Be a Woman Who Has Prestige and Has Built Up a Noble Record

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

IT COMES to me from good authority that the queenly Mary McLeod Bethune will resign and turn over her career to another when the National Council of Negro Women meets in Washington the middle of November.

If this is so, her place will be hard, almost impossible, to fill. It took a mighty able person to organize this Council and hold it together. If Mrs. Bethune is to resign I am going to stick my neck out and say something about the qualities her successor should possess. I shall call no names because I think that would be unwise.



Mr. Mays

Mrs. Bethune's place will be hard to fill because extraordinary people are so rare. I am greatly disturbed by the fact that the number and quality of our leaders do not seem to increase in proportion to the increase in the number that graduates from college and university.

Too few of our women, and men, too, assume leadership in their respective communities. As a result, when a significant, responsible opening occurs, it is almost like looking for a needle in a hay-stack. There should be dozens of women ready to succeed Mrs. Bethune. But I fear that the choice will narrow down to a mere handful.

• • •

I HOPE THE successor to Mrs. Bethune will not be chosen because somebody wants it and campaigns for it. The National Council of Negro Women is not a political party. I hope her successor will not be a person who needs it in order to build herself up. The next president of the Council should be, as Mrs. Bethune, a woman who has already built herself up by a noble record of past achievements.

She should bring as much position and prestige to the Council as the Council will bring to her. It should be a person who does not need the Council to give them the spotlight. She should bring the spotlight with her.

All this is another way of saying something else. The successor to Mary McLeod Bethune should have both "mass" and "class" appeal. It is not enough to appeal to the so-called "classes" or the "intellectuals." A truly great leader must appeal to the "masses" and champion the cause of the masses.

Jesus had mass appeal. One of the greatest compliments ever passed on Jesus is the one which

says "The common people heard Him gladly." Wherever He went to speak, "the little people" were there.

Mahatma Gandhi had "mass appeal." The untouchables and the lower class people worshipped him as if he were God. Gandhi told me when I was in India in 1937 that he had a hard time trying to convince the people that he was just another man. But Gandhi appealed to "classes" too. The Brahmins as much as the suppressed Caste people looked to Gandhi for leadership.

* * *

THOUGH AN ARISTOCRAT, Franklin D. Roosevelt, had "mass" appeal. And no one can deny the fact that Mrs. Bethune has both "mass" and "class" appeal. In other words, a truly great leader must symbolize the hopes and aspirations of his or her people—the hopes and aspirations of struggling humanity everywhere. Mrs. Bethune is such a symbol.

The next president of the National Council of Negro Women should have organizing ability. Although an executive secretary may do most of the work, the organizing ability of the president is indispensable if the Council is to continue to function effectively. She must be willing to work and she must be able to stick at the task until the job is done.

* * *

THE SUCCESSOR TO Mrs. Bethune should be a good front person. She should be able to represent the Council anywhere in this country and abroad. She should be able to make a good speech and to think straight on the vital issues of our time. She should have sane courage and should go about her task without fear.

Whether Negro leadership recognizes it or not, the day of the "hat-in-the-hand" leader is past. White people do not respect such leadership, and Negroes will not follow that leadership. Humanity has but one road over which it can safely march, and that is the road toward a more abundant life for all of God's people.

Age has not dimmed Mrs. Bethune's leadership. Most leaders grow conservative with age. Mary McLeod Bethune has grown more militant with the years.

* * *

FINALLY, THE NEXT president of the Council should have the respect and confidince of the women. As difficult as it will be, she must be able to carry the majority of the women with her if her administration is to be successful. I salute this great woman as she bows gracefully out and wish for the new president a successful administration.

MAYS

Miller Whitaker Had Convictions and Could Stubbornly Hold Them Without Antagonizing

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

QUIET, unassuming, poised, well mannered, personable, honest and gifted—these are a few of the words that help to describe the late Miller L. Whittaker, who for seventeen or more years was the president of the State College in Orangeburg, S. C. He was the third president of the college. The first president and organizer was the illustrious Thomas E. Miller. Miller was president from 1896 to 1911. From 1911 to 1932, another distinguished man, Robert Shaw Wilkinson, was president of the college. He succeeded Dr. Miller and in the twenty-one years of his presidency, the college grew to great proportions.



Mr. Mays

Young Whittaker was the choice of Dr. Wilkinson and at his death, Miller Whittaker became the third president. Three presidents in fifty years speak well for Miller, Wilkinson and Whittaker. It also speaks well for the state officials who have not made the school a political football. The college has been able to maintain a steady and healthy growth since its origin in 1896.

* * *

WILKINSON HAD DONE a magnificent job and when he died people were wondering about his successor. They did not have to wonder long because Dr. Wilkinson had seen the qualities in Miller Whittaker and as I recall Whittaker was carrying on during the illness of Dr. Wilkinson.

The choice of Miller Whittaker to succeed Wilkinson was a wise one. He was an able administrator and built soundly on the foundations his predecessors had laid. The college continued to grow and achieved "A" rating under Whittaker's administration. President Whittaker was quiet and unassuming. He was quiet, but not weak, gifted but not pompous, honest without self righteousness. He possessed what one might call "silent power."

No one can live in this world without some enemies. And I am sure the late President Whittaker had his enemies. But I never knew them. He came to State College as a teacher before I finished high school there; so I had known him for thirty or more years when he died Nov. 13.

* * *

I HAVE KNOWN the college intimately since my high school days. I have visited the college almost annually for a period of twenty years. In all these years I have never heard any one speak evil of the late President Whittaker. If he had enemies, I believe they were few. The faculty loved and respected him. The students adored and loved him. The people in the state admired him and spoke of him with warmth and affection. It is hardly an accident that the top officials of the state, including the Governor, were present at his funeral.

Miller Whittaker was the most unassuming man I have ever known. There is plenty of vanity in most people. They do and say things to be seen, to be heard, to make the head lines and to receive the plaudits of men.

One never got this impression from my friend, Miller Whittaker. He was unselfish and served the cause with sincerity and truth. He had convictions and could stubbornly hold to them without antagonizing. The people trusted him and he never betrayed that trust. He never sold his race down the river in order to gain something for himself. He was not for sale. This is not always true of public servants.

* * *

PEOPLE TEACH MORE eloquently by example than they do by words. This being true Miller Whittaker will live on forever. His influence will unconsciously help mould the lives of the students who came under him and they in turn will carry the Whittaker influence to their children and to the people with whom they come in contact.

Shakespeare says something like this: The evil that men do lives after them; the good is often interred with their bones. It is equally true that the good that men do lives after them. Certainly the good that Miller Whittaker did will live after him.

MAYS

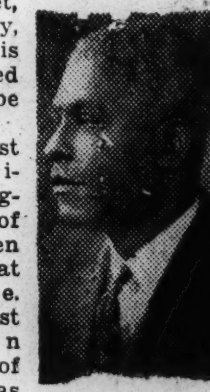
The Church of God Is Still Perhaps The Most Segregated American Institution

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

WHEN it comes to results and activities the pessimist and optimist end up just about at the same point.

Both are likely to do nothing to bring about the desired results. The pessimist is discouraged. He thinks all efforts are futile. He is inclined to fret, whine, and cry, folding his arms convinced nothing can be done.



Dr. Mays

The pessimist underestimates the significance of what has been done or what can be done. The optimist seizes upon every sign of progress as proof that things are happening rapidly and that we need have no fears. The good life for all is just around the corner. The trouble with the optimist—he is likely to leave everything to chance, believing that progress is inevitable and that things are bound to come out all right. Both of these positions are unrealistic.

THE TRUTH OF the matter is there is no real basis for either of the two. Wherever you see progress, some person or persons or a combination of circumstances made the progress possible. Things do not just happen. People make them happen.

The thing we face now in race relations is the danger of complacency. I have recently heard trained Negroes speak too glowingly of the improvements we have made in the areas of race.

Someone has even said that the battle of segregation is won. And yet there is not a single state on the South that has taken the laws of segregation off the statute books. It is true that some progress has been made.

IN MOST AREAS of the South, the stumbling block to voting has been moved. In several areas of the South, teachers' salaries have been equalized.

It is true that lynching has decreased. It is true that there is a little more justice in the courts. It is equally true that Pullman travel in the South is now easy for Negroes. I have seen improvements in this area over a period of twenty-five years.

The walls of segregation in inter-state travel are beginning to crack. Newspapers treat Negroes with more respect. In many areas of the deep South a Negro's picture can get in the white press when he has done something noteworthy. He doesn't have to be a criminal in order to get his picture in the paper.

* * *

MANY SOUTHERN WHITES do not hesitate to call a Negro woman "Miss" or "Mrs." Negroes are receiving more money for the support of their schools. In border states and even in Kentucky, Arkansas and Oklahoma Negroes are beginning to enroll in so-called white institutions. The Civil Rights program is not dead. Job opportunities in the North have increased hopefully.

But these events should not create optimists. Every one of these gains was won the hard way. The war and world conditions brought some gains. Organized pressure brought still others. And make no mistake, the gains of the future will come the hard way. So gird your loins.

What is the situation in 1950. Segregation exists by law in every Southern state and there are no signs that this battle will be won in 1950. We need to gird our loins to fight the battle against segregation and its attendant evils. Every Negro in the South wears this badge of segregation which is the badge of inferiority. And it carries with it inequality in service and goods.

* * *

IN ALL SEGREGATED public schools of the South there is inequality of equipment. It would take millions and millions of dollars to bring the equipments of Negro schools up to those of the white schools. In many small towns and rural areas Negroes are intimidated, so they do not vote.

The curtain in the dining car on trains is an insult to every intelligent, sensitive Negro. Lynching, though greatly decreased, is still with us.

The lynchers can still lynch Negroes and nobody will be apprehended or punished. It is still very dangerous in several areas our Southland for a Negro to be "too prosperous." There are jobs both North and South that a Negro cannot hold regardless of competence.

* * *

THE KU KLUX KLAN still rides and is a menace to democracy. The Church of God is still perhaps the most segregated institution in the United States. Negroes are still marginal citizens—the first to feel the blunt of depressions. There are thousands who will fight Truman's Civil Rights program to a finish. Many Senators will filibuster forever to keep any Civil Rights measure from passing.

The achieving of these rights and privileges are within the realm of possibility. But they, too, will come the hard way. So we approach 1950 neither as a pessimist nor as an optimist, but as a realist. He who would be free must take the initiative.

MAYS

Cannot Believe That Willie Tolbert Is Guilty of Charges in South Carolina Case

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

I HAVE just finished reading five issues of The Index Journal published in Greenwood, S. C. under dates of Aug. 9, 13, 16. I have also read the Aug. 20 issue of the Lighthouse and Informer, published in Columbia, S. C.

The five issues of the Index Journal and the one issue of The Lighthouse and Informer carry the story of a Negro who is charged with attempted rape of a sixteen-year-old white girl. I have read the articles several times but for the life of me, I cannot believe the charge.



Dr. Mays

The accused Negro is named Willie Tolbert. In brief the story is this:

* * *

THE ATTEMPTED RAPE and robbery supposedly occurred between 11:30 P. M., Aug. 8 and 2 A. M. Aug. 9. As the story goes, the Negro forced himself into the car as the young couple, girl, 16, and boy, 17, were turning around on a side road near the city after having attended a movie.

I was in error in predicting that the case of Tolbert in South Carolina would be dropped. He has already been sentenced to die in the electric chair the latter part of October. I suspect that the NAACP will seek to appeal this case.

When the Negro forced himself into the car, the girl broke from the car and ran. The Negro overtook her, attempted an assault and forced the girl back into the car. After forcing the girl back into the car, the Negro took the wheel and drove into Lauren County and attempted to ravish the girl again. During the two-hour ride some money was taken. The names of the couple have not been revealed. This in brief is the story as told in the Index-Journal of Aug. 9.

By the next day, a wide search was in process and the Aug. 11 issue of the Index-Journal states that airplanes had joined the hunt and that the mob numbered about 1,000 persons. It is said by several persons that women and children were in the mob searching for Willie Tolbert. The Index-Journal of Aug. 12 states that Willie Tolbert had given himself up and that he was in the State Penitentiary in Columbia. On Aug. 13, the Index-Journal states that officers had reported that Tolbert admitted criminally attacking the girl. The summary of the case appears again in the Aug. 13 issue of the Index-Journal.

* * *

TOLBERT IS SAID to have threatened to kill the girl if her boy escort interfered. He drove the car down "a desolate road" and tried to force the young seventeen-year-old white boy into "a compromising position so that the white boy would be incriminated." Tolbert allegedly took $2 and drove the car to a filling station and bought gas. He threatened to kill the couple if they made any outcry. The statement says the girl wrote "help, on the side of the car with lipstick but neither of the two filling station attendants saw the message."

After driving around for a while the Negro went to another filling station but the "lone operator there did not see the lipstick message." The Negro finally brought the couple back to the city and got out about where he got in. The Lighthouse and Informer in their issues of Aug. 20 declare that Tolbert denies the charge.

I have tried to report this story as the local paper carried it so as to run no risk of misstatement. It doesn't make sense. Here is a white boy, seventeen years old, sitting idly by while a Negro, age 24, runs after a white girl, attempts to rape her, brings her back to the car, takes the wheel, drives them around for two hours, attempts to rape the girl a second time, stops for gas at two filling stations, and no outcry is made.

* * *

NO WHITE BOY in the South could grow to be seventeen without knowing that the white woman is "sacred" and must never be touched by a Negro man. If this white boy took that, he was either drunk or feeble-minded. It doesn't make sense.

Evidently Tolbert was not armed. The articles say nothing about Tolbert possessing a gun. If he had been armed, the papers would have said so. There is something dead up in the branch.

But we must never forget that this South is a strange South. The white woman must be protected at any cost, rightly or wrongly and what's right doesn't enter the picture.

* * *

ALTHOUGH SOMEBODY usually has to die when a white woman is attacked or supposed to be attacked, my guess is that this case will die out. I understand that white people in Greenwood think the story isn't accurate. With a flimsy case as this one is, I doubt that they would expose this girl to the public.

It is most unfortunate that Willie Tolbert had to have a criminal record. Despite that fact, I believe Willie Tolbert was paid to drive this couple around.

MAYS

U. S. 'Race Problem' Is Most Impressive Thing That Greets Visitors From Europe

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

MY LAST article was written from London. I am writing this one from Paris. I have just flown from England where I attended the meeting of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches which met in Chichester, England, July 9-15. Bishop W. J. Walls and myself are among the eighteen Americans who are on the Central Committee from the United States.



Dr. Mays

Bishop Walls made fine contributions to the work of the committee during its six days session. I hope to visit Rome and Prague before my return home Aug. 10.

I have just read an article in John Bull, an English magazine, under date of July 9. A young Englishman and his wife are seeing the United States by automobile. The title of the article is "The Real America."

THE MOST STRIKING thing about the article is the fact that the race problem in America is so deeply ingrained in the fabric of our life that it is the most impressive thing that greets one from another land. Although England is not free of racial prejudice and discrimination, she is far enough ahead of the United States for Elkan Allan to be greatly shocked at what he is finding in our country.

He begins first with the sign "Coloured Men" which he found on the door of the rest room at Norris Dam which the author rightly calls one of the greatest achievements of the Tennessee Valley Authority and the "most spectacular child of the New Deal."

It is well to quote the author at this point. "And here, upon America's pride, was evidence of America's shame. For this was the South, where Negroes are still slaves, in fact if not in theory. Where "coloured men" are a group outside humanity." This is a strong statement, but before we get angry about it we must realize that there is considerable truth in this statement.

* * *

NEGROES MAY NOT be "whole" slaves in the South, but there can be no denying the fact that we are "half" slaves and in the eyes of millions of American whites, we are "outside humanity." We may be inclined to deny the statement because we are accustomed to being treated as sub-humans.

Liberal whites may deny Mr. Allan's statement because they are inclined to feel that things are better than they are. Under a segregated economy Negroes can be no more than half free. There is so much truth in Allan's article that it is hard to refute it successfully. The article points out that in Gainesville, Ga., Mr. and Mrs. Allan saw a poster which read: "Vote for the candidate who stands for White Supremacy."

He spoke of seeing "rough, unshaven young and old men" carrying guns and looked at him and his wife with suspicious eyes. The stop in Gainesville was due to the fact that their water tank was leaking and they stopped in Gainesville to get it fixed.

* * *

ON LEARNING THAT the young man was from England he was asked by the man who was fixing his car "Did you have Nigger GIs in England during the war?" When Mr. Allan replied in the affirmative the tinsmith asked Mr. Allan why didn't they kill all the Negro soldiers while they had them over there.

Allan states that another member of the firm was more tolerant. He spoke of his county being better than the next county, where a coloured man is not allowed "inside its boundaries, not even on a cart in a chicken coop." He was told that one can get along in the South as long as one's race or religion isn't against him. One of the men in the shop told Allan how they got rid of a Jew a few years ago. This article is being read all over England and it advertises to the world our scandal.

In a Press Conference in London July 15 a newspaper man representing newspapers from South Africa told me that the people in South Africa thought the race problem in the United States was just as bad as theirs. And the evidence used was the fact we lynched in the United States and they didn't in South Africa.

Next week I will say more about South Africa under the caption "Hitlerism in South Africa." The way America treats Negroes, weakens her efforts in all parts of the world.

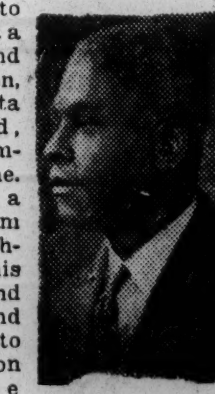
MAYS

Hollis Riles' Slayers Are Whites and Will Therefore Go Free and Unpunished In South

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

THE radio has just flashed the news that Hollis Riles, 53, was killed by five white men in Decatur County, Ga., near Bainbridge. The body was found Friday night, Sept. 2, propped up against a tree. The Atlanta papers carried the story Sept. 4.



Dr. Mays

According to the Atlanta Journal, and Constitution, and the Atlanta Daily World, Riles had committed no crime. Riles owned a 200-acre farm and had a fishing pond on his place. The land was posted and it was illegal to hunt or fish on Riles' place without permission. The sheriff of Decatur County is reported to have said that Riles was hit with thirteen buckshot. The sheriff said he believes it was "a case of premeditated murder." The coroner's jury found that death had been inflicted by unknown parties.

Whether by known or unknown parties, the results would be the same. White men killed a Negro and that is tantamount to saying that the guilty parties will go free and unpunished.

* * *

LAST MAY, RILES' house was riddled with bullets when an unidentified automobile passed his house and this happened after the Negro "had attempted to keep several white men from fishing in his pond." The day of Riles' death, he and another Negro, named Gordon, went to the pond to fish. When they approached the pond, they saw two white men lounging under a tree. They both had guns. At the pond they discovered two more white men. One had a string of fish. Riles is reported to have told the white men that his pond was posted and that they "must either get off or pay for the privilege of fishing."

The story goes on to say that one of the men gave Riles the fish and said they did not know the pond was posted and that they would leave at once. But shortly after that Gordon reports that he heard shots and when he stood up he saw four or five white men shooting at Riles and about five minutes later two more shots were fired.

Gordon watched two cars drive away and one had the license plate covered. Gordon did not know the men. Even if he knew them, he would probably be afraid to testify against white men. If he did, he would probably be killed.

* * *

A FEW DAYS ago I was speaking to a white audience in the South. During the fifty-minute question period, I was asked to state the difference between the North and the South on the question of race. After making it clear that the Kingdom of God had not come in the North nor in the South, I said among other things, that in the North the Negro's chance of getting justice in the courts is pretty good even when his case involves a white man. But in the South when the Negro's case involves a white man, the Negro seldom, if ever, gets justice.

This is a hard thing to say about my native South but no honest man can deny it. On the whole, the Negro's person is safer in the North. He is not likely to be kicked around as much and he is not likely to be killed for nothing. But if he is killed in the North, or if he is involved with a white man in the North, the Negro knows that he is more

than likely to get the justice which the law prescribed. But in the South, he knows that if he gets justice it is the exception and not the rule.

The Negro's person is cheaper in the South.

• • •

THEY COULD FIND out who killed Riles but they will not. And even if they find out, nothing will be done. There is no deep-seated desire and no deep-seated determination on the part of most of the South to apprehend and punish white men when they inflict injury and death upon Negroes. In this particular area, the South, for the most part, is Fascist and Nazi.

I shall never forget Monroe, Ga., when four Negroes were lynched, two men and two women, in broad daylight, by an unmasked mob and the Georgia Bureau of Investigation and Federal Bureau of Investigation could "not find out who did it."

But there are people in Monroe who know who did it and I believe some of the FBI and GBI officials know who did it. But they were Negroes. So Hollis Riles was a Negro and nothing will be done.

• • •

THE VERY THING that Booker Washington advised Negroes to do, buy land, be thrifty and be a good citizen, has often worked against him. The more prosperous a Negro becomes in many areas of the South the more precarious his life and greater the prejudice against him.

MAYS

East London's Race Riot Seemed Mild to What It Would Have Been in United States

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

I AM sitting now in my hotel room in Rome, Italy. I have just finished reading the Paris edition of the New York Herald Tribune for July 20. It is significant to me that on the same page we have headlines about race in three lands: North America, Africa and England.



Negroes and whites had a mild race riot in East London. For three hours, knives, fists, iron bars, chairs, bottles and live coals were used. More than 100 policemen were called out. Two or three persons were severely injured.

Dr Mays

Eight Negroes and eight white men were arrested and eight Negroes and seven of the white men were held for trial.

Such clashes, I understand, are unusual in London. I call it a "mild" race riot because I fear it would have been more serious in Southern United States if one of the reasons given for the clash is true. One report is that the "white men became aroused when a Negro put his arm around a white girl." Another version of it is that "a young Negro snubbed a policeman who told him to move on."

In a recent column by Dr. Mays it was erroneously stated that the salary of a Fellow at Oxford ranged from $2,000 to $3,000 a year. This should have read "from $4,000 to $5,600 a year."

I suspect that if this had been in Southern United States, the Negroes would have been arrested and the white men would have gone free. I doubt if the white men would have been held for trial in Southern United States. It certainly would not have been as serious if a white man had put his arm about a Negro woman.

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THE SECOND EVENT brings South Africa into the picture again. My readers will recall that last week I wrote on "Hitlerism in South Africa." Bechuanaland is British territory in the northwestern section of South Africa. The Union of South Africa wants Bechuanaland incorporated into the Union.

The tribe in this territory is Bamangwato. The Chief of the tribe is the Oxford-educated Seretse Khama. Last year he married an English girl, Ruth Williams. It seems that the tribesmen have expressed the willingness to accept the Chief's wife as their queen.

Certain South African white groups, and particularly the "Christian" Dutch Reformed Church, have been insisting that the British Government oppose the idea of making the Chief's wife Queen of the Bamangwato tribe. The objection to the making of Mrs. Khama the Queen of the tribe is the conviction that it would be "an implied official British blessing of the principle of mixed marriages, which are illegal in most provinces of South Africa. In South Africa, as in some sections of America, there is fear that some whites of South Africa would marry colored natives; otherwise there would be no need of the law against it. While the young Chief has been studying at Oxford, it seems that the Chief's uncle has been acting Chief. The British Government, it seems, must approve his appointment as Chief of the tribe. I hope the South Africans who are protesting will lose.

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THE HITLER TACTICS which they are now using against native colored Africans is brutal enough. If the British Government refuses to appoint Seretse Khama Chief and if they object to his wife being Queen because of the protest of the white groups in South Africa, it will further confirm the Government of South Africa in its wicked behavior toward the Negro people and it will tend to give moral sanction to their program of hate.

If Bechuanaland is not now a part of the Union of South Africa, it will simply give the Government of South Africa more peoples and more territory to perpetuate their unchristian rule.

The third clash is in Florida in the United States. It is the case of the suspected rape of a white woman by four Negroes who, before the rape supposedly beat and robbed the woman's husband. If these Negroes are guilty, they should be punished according to the law. But they should be proved guilty.

• • •

I ALWAYS SHUDDER when a Negro is accused of raping a white woman. I shudder because I know that whether he is innocent or guilty he is likely to be lynched illegally by a mob, or legally by a mob-dominated court.

I know that whether innocent or guilty, ninety-nine times out of a hundred the Negro will not get justice. If the case had been reversed there would hardly have been an arrest.

Though happening almost at the same time in three continents, there is a common factor, a connecting thread in all three incidents. A white woman is involved. It points up once again my contention that the social question is at the heart of the race problem. The economic and cultural factors are secondary.

MAYS

Democracy on High Seas Ends Where Negroes, Whites in Same Cabins Begin

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

THERE SEEMS TO BE no attempt on the Queen Elizabeth to seat Negroes or colored people together. There are four Negroes on board in tourist class but we are not seated at the same table and as far as I know there was no effort to seat us together. This would not have been the case in 1936. The policy is more liberal now on the Cunard White Star Line.

But I have observed one thing and I will bet my life I am right. There are four Negroes in tourist. Two Negro men and two Negro women. The two women did not know each other. My cabin mate did not know me and I did not know him. But the two Negro women are together and the two Negro men are rooming together. This is hardly an accident.

I believe it is definitely planned. At tea yesterday, I learned from a friend that the policy is just that. They will not book a Negro in a room with a white person unless the white person requests it or only after consulting the white person to be sure it is all right. The white friend who told me this has had recent experience on this point. The white passenger must be protected. The Negro doesn't matter.

When I return to New York I shall find out first hand what the policy is. A strange world: Yet, "The sun do move." My next article will probably be sent from the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches in Chichester, England.

MAYS

Atlanta Candidates Literally Begged for The Votes of Negroes At Political Rallies

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.)

LAST month, Sept. 7, Atlanta held a primary. A Mayor, several councilmen and several aldermen had to be elected. This primary was something new under the sun. It was the first time in recent decades that Negroes had been permitted to vote in the so-called city "White Primary."



In 1946 the Federal Courts ruled the "White Primary in Georgia unconstitutional. Since 1946, Negroes had voted in the primary for Governor, but they had not voted for local candidates to govern the city of Atlanta because this was the first city election since the Federal Court's decision in 1946. I want to comment on this Atlanta primary.



Mr. Mays

The first significant fact is, some 22,000 Negroes were eligible to vote in the primary. A total of 100,000 persons are registered in Atlanta. With the names of 22,000 Negroes on the list, the Negro population was something to be reckoned with. It had been approximately a half century since Negroes voted.

• • •

HERETOFORE, THE candidates kicked Negroes around in their campaign speeches and racial tension was often stirred up. This was not the case this time.

Instead of cursing the Negro and saying all kinds of bad things about him, the candidates were glad to speak to Negroes in their political rallies. They made promises and literally begged for the Negroes' votes. The Negroes got together and formed a coalition.

John Wesley Dobbs, Republican, and A. T. Walden, Democrat, were the leaders in the Negro political organizations. Their work was effective. Several large political rallies were held in different sections of the Negro community and all candidates accepted invitations and spoke in their own behalf. When one candidate tried to stir up something by making an attack on Mr. Dobbs because he was a Republican, the Negroes resented it. And another candidate did not help himself when he made it clear that he was a white supremacist.

• • •

SINCE IT APPEARED that someone was trying to stir up something, the leaders wisely dismissed the idea of having candidates present at the last big rally which was held in Big Bethel AME Church.

The second significant comment is the fact that the Negroes held the balance of power and William Hartsfield was returned to office because the vast majority of Negroes voted for Mayor Hartsfield.

The press and the Mayor conceded the fact that the Negroes cast the deciding votes which made Hartsfield's election inevitable. Our experience in the last campaign proves again that when Negroes have what the white man wants they will be sought. The ballot will not bring in the Kingdom of God, but it will surely help. A voteless people is a hopeless people.

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THE THIRD OBSERVATION I want to make about the Atlanta campaign has to do with the educational qualifications of the candidates. Their educational records prove again that if you are a member of the white race, you can go a long way with little training and little preparation.

To be 21 and white will take you a long way. As I have said, of the reasons given for the clash is true. One report is that the "white men became aroused when a Negro put his arm around a white girl." Another version of it is that "a young Negro snubbed a policeman who told him to move on."

I suspect that if this had been in Southern United States, the Negroes would have been arrested and the white men would have gone free. I doubt if the white men would have been held for trial in Southern United States. It certainly would not have been as serious if a white man had put his arm about a Negro woman.

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THE RECORDS of the Atlanta candidates for councilmen were given, the chances are the nineteen seem to indicate college product of the Atlanta public schools, and the high school. Only one is given as a graduate of Emory. The records of nineteen candidates for councilmen reveal something similar. Most of the high school graduates and the records of only three out of the graduation.

Many of them are doing the white boy with a high school or grammar school education can go farther than the average Negro. Another candidate, Joe Salem, a graduate of Georgia School of Tech Evening School, He studied law in a law office. Another candidate for Mayor, John Marshall Law, is a plumber, electrician, lawyer, one of a barber shop, yard conductor, court, salesman, printer, owner, grocer, druggist, etc. If you are 21 and white you can go places in this democracy of ours.

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THE THIRD OBSERVATION I want to make about the Atlanta campaign has to do with the educational qualifications of the candidates. Their educational records prove again that if you are a member of the white race, you can go a long way with little training and little preparation.

To be 21 and white will take you a long way. As I have said, candidate for Mayor, Charlie all finished high school, bookkeeper, bulldozer, machinist, bookkeeper, bulldozer, or two physicians, clerk of a

When only the public schools

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

Adam Powell's Political Acumen May Dictate the Passage of an FEPC Bill

By MARJORIE McKENZIE

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

As you know from recent press accounts, the House Education and Labor Committee has voted to report the FEPC bill and give the full House of Representatives a chance to vote on it. Congressman A. Clayton Powell Jr., who is in charge of the measure, is holding his victory close to the chest and has decided not to send the bill to the floor until next January.



M. McKenzie

In the waning days before adjournment, a lot of friends and Northerners skipped off. Mr. Powell chose not to gamble with their returning to the Washington inferno for a last minute vote. His decision has been debated.

Some people point out that the friends of FEPC are friends by necessity as well as by choice and would have to come back if the bill were up. They point to the advantage of getting the House bill packaged this summer so that the fall could be spent on lobbying the Senate. Further, the Senate is disposed to hold back on any fighting plans of its own until the House has acted. A few sharp-tongued souls suggest that Mr. Powell's own political acumen might dictate the drama of drawn-out but certain passage of his bill.

• • •

IN ANY EVENT, the die is cast and no attempt will be made to by-pass the Rules Committee until January. Not that FEPC could get to the floor by the conventional route of the Rules Committee.

Its chairman, Adolph Sabath (D., Ill.) is a charter-member New Dealer and all for FEPC, but among his seven Democratic colleagues, there are four who oppose it bitterly. Since seven votes in committee are needed for a rule, three of them would have to be picked up from the four Republican members, Herter (Mass.), Allen (Ill.), Brown (Ohio), and Wadsworth (N. Y.).

Political observers find it hard to believe that these four would yield even one favorable vote.

COME JANUARY AND the by-passing procedure, we can reasonably expect to get FEPC past the House. My colleague, Lem Graves, recently analyzed very skillfully in his "Washington Notebook" why the poll-tax vote is no measure of the civil rights strength in the House.

I think that FEPC will provide us with that test. Among those who will vote for it on the record, will be many of those who caucused and plotted and whittled away the bill's chance to get through committee intact. But except as these fair-weather friends succeed in preventing consideration of civil rights legislation by the full House, we can ignore their deceit.

The big, the everlasting, problem is the Senate filibuster. And with the right combination of timing, pressure and leadership, with alternate wooing and threatening of the Republicans, even a Senate filibuster can be whipped.

• • •

IN THE INTERIM, there are lessons to be learned from the maneuvers that occurred in the House Education and Labor Committee before it voted 14-11 to report the FEPC bill. Only eleven Democratic votes out of the committee's sixteen-member Democratic majority were for FEPC. To get the necessary thirteen votes, the bill's engineers needed two Republicans.

After early doubts, dissipated by well-planned lobbying, Representative Brehm of Ohio came over wholeheartedly. The Republican leader of the committee was working unreservedly with the Southern Democrats to kill the bill.

Of the eight remaining Republicans, there were only two possibilities for that essential vote, Kearns of northern Pennsylvania and Velde of central Illinois. Kearns seemed most likely and a frantic deluge of mail was stimulated from his district. Mr. Kearns didn't budge. Velde was a former FBI man and winning him over was a surprise, even though he has many Negroes and Jews in his district. In the tense atmosphere of the committee meeting, Kearns came through, too, on the final vote.

• • •

THE THING THAT should shock us into action is that only last-minute beating of the bushes in Kearns' and Velde's districts saved FEPC from dying in committee. But where were these citizens all along?

We can gripe about our anti-civil rights Congressmen only so long; much of the responsibility is ours. We have a lot of it to discharge before January and we must begin as soon as the boys come home from Washington.

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

Whether or Not You Agree With Robeson, He Is Testing The Strength of Democracy

By MARJORIE McKENZIE

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

YOU CAN'T ignore another Robeson incident. You can't write it off your civil liberties conscience by saying that Paul percipitates incidents on purpose, or by claiming that he wants to be a martyr. You can't just read another Time Magazine editorial calling the "Peekskill picnic" . . . "an example of misguided hooliganism, more useful to communist propaganda than a dozen interrupted song recitals by Paul Robeson."



M. McKenzie

You have to realize that your political conscience and your personal integrity can be threatened as seriously in New York as in Georgia. And, white or black, raidcal or conservative or in the middle, you have to react.

Doctors tell us that some people are accident-prone, that is, they want subconsciously to injure themselves in order to achieve objectives they can't get by less disastrous methods. Paul Robeson appears to be violence-prone.

• • •

HEADLINES, INSULT, DENIAL pursue him. The doors of concert halls are slammed in his face, his contracts are broken, he invites Congressional hearings. But Paul does not attract trouble unwittingly. He has ideas which in this country are considered violent. He expresses them. He tries to live by them. In consequence, he is attended by a riot.

The issue is not whether you agree with Paul Robeson's ideas. The issue is not whether he is or is not a Communist. The issue is whether you want to live in a democracy, whether you have the strength to live in a democracy, whether you have the knowledge of how to live in one.

It is the same issue we faced with the deportation last spring of Walter Geiseking. He is a German pianist who was suspected of being a former Nazi sympathizer. If this were true, the immigration authorities had a right to exclude him from this country. Once he was here, however, he became the possessor of civil rights arising under the U. S. Constitution.

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THESE RIGHTS WERE violated when, in the face of organized perssure by private groups, he was not allowed to perform or to have the charges speedily investigated.

Not only the artist's right to perform, but our own right to hear is denied when a mob, whether composed of veterans or anybody else, whether it veers to the right or the left, takes over. To let our identification with the victim's point of view be the measure of our indignation is to build a trap for our unwary selves.

There will be people screaming and beating their chests about the Peekskill riot who read the Geiseking releases with satisfaction or indifference. There were Geiseking admirers and protestors who would let Robeson be mute forever without a murmur. Neither extreme can call themselves civil libertarians; such groups believe only in themselves and their prejudices, not in due process of law.

• • •

BEHIND THE CIVIL liberties question lies a deeper one. It can, of course, be solved on the civil liberties level without probing beyond. Public authority in this country, both local and national, is strong enough to protect the rights of extremists, to let them give concerts to whoever would attend.

But many people feel that there is a limit to which a democracy should go in giving free expression to rival philosophies of government. They argue that a democracy has a right to protect itself against the dissemination of ideas which might lead to its overthrow. This concept makes, inevitably, for two standards of free speech and free assembly.

Complete freedom for the friends of democracy, censorship for its enemies and outcasts. This confusion is behind mob action, behind lynching, behind racial injustice. The protection and freedom and equality are for a chosen few and can be accorded hearty lip service while the cross is burning, the club upraised.

• • •

IF YOU ARE a weak democrat, you believe that democracy is weak and has its outer limits. You think freedom has a sliding scale. You listen to those with whom you agree and silence your opponents. You are a potential mobster and your kind of government is bound to collapse.

The Peekskill riot is the natural consequence of our national hysteria over, even communism.

He sings their songs in a dozen different languages and he translates and interprets as he goes along. His music, as his life, has direction. This is why he is controversial. This is why Shostakovich struggles to keep his own art pure.

The artistic expression of a people is not divorced from their total life, including their political orientation. The American press refuses to meet Russian censorship on this ground and pretends that the Russian approach is either amusing or incomprehensible.

IN THIS ENTIRE area of thought, the hairs may be split very thin. Mrs. Roosevelt has said in her column that she would go to hear Mr. Robeson sing, but not to hear him make a political speech. (I'm sure she would defend either his right to sing or speak.) To anyone who has heard a Robeson concert, however, this distinction does not quite make sense. Paul sings for the peasants of the world, for the workers, for the downtrodden.

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

A Serious Dilemma Faces Parents of Children Who Receive Progressive Training

By MARJORIE McKENZIE

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

PARENTS who have their children in progressive schools and who attempt as sincerely and consistently as they can to employ progressive training methods at home must sooner or later realize that they and their children face a serious dilemma.



M. McKenzie

This dilemma concerns the difference between the standards of new educational techniques and the realities of the world in which we live.

As long as the attitudes of his parents and teachers are consistently coordinated, as long as the atmosphere of home and school is attuned, the child in progressive training is able to function with integrity and confidence.

But, when he comes into contact with adults who do not use or sympathize with or maybe even know about the approaches of his parents and teachers, when he must deal with children who are being otherwise trained, he may know how to get along successfully. He cannot be sheltered forever, he cannot be selective of all of his associates. He has to learn to get along in the world, and the problem is whether his education is preparing him for it or for a world not yet realized.

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THIS IS NOT a theoretical, but a practical problem, easily reducible to the small occurrences that make up a child's day. For example, a child who has been helped to channel his aggressive feelings in acceptable ways will not have to take them out on his playmates. As to them, he is learning the way of discussion and arbitration, which makes for peace among individuals just as it does among nations.

This is not, however, the training experience of all children. To realize this, it is necessary only to observe closely the behavior of a group of children engaged in unsupervised play on almost any city street or public playground. There is a lot of hitting, chasing, teasing and throwing of things.

There is, in short, jungle warfare in which an alert eye and a ready fist are necessary assets to survival as a member of the group. The child who has been reared by progressive methods often cannot cope with this kind of activity. He is ready with a retort when a fist would be more useful.

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THIS IS THE point at which parents meet the dilemma. Should the child be taught that in this situation, he may, indeed he must fight back? The experts say that he should and, when challenged about the inconsistency, admit that such instructions teach a double standard of behavior.

This can be explained to the child, although its necessity cannot be avoided. A very difficult burden is thus put upon the child, for he must learn to evaluate each new situation and its people, perhaps even re-evaluate old situations.

Such skillful and selective responses do not come easily to adults, and if children lose their original approaches, there is little wonder.

Other levels of conflict are sensed by the child and bewilder him. The child who has been disciplined, but not "punished," who knows control but not arbitrary power, who receives honest answers to his questions, who has freedom of speech at home, who is introduced to democratic ideas with his morning cereal and not in junior high school civics, is a different kind of person from one whose personality and rights have not been thus respected.

• • •

THE QUESTION THAT arises is whether he is ready for the world and whether the world is ready for him.

The overwhelming evidence of disturbed human relations at home and abroad is pretty convincing proof that modern man is long overdue in the modern world. Progressive education is one experiment which is trying to produce him. It fights against a tremendous cultural lag of prejudice, ignorance and habit.

Indeed, it is handicapped by its own technicians who are themselves products of the old order and who try to pull out of error and fear by their own bootstraps. The first fledglings of progressive education are up against the contradictions in their parents and teachers as well as the contradictions between what they are taught and what they experience beyond home and school.

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TO SAY THAT it is difficult, to criticize or reject the way of progressive education is not to say that we have no responsibility to teach our children happier ways of living.

The insight with which we interpret the two worlds, the ways in which we achieve the transition, the times and places at which we launch the child from one to the other—these are problems of how, not whether, we must do the job.

Otherwise, to use the beautiful language of that excellent documentary movie, "The Quiet One," we shall be, parent and child, like locked mirrors, repeating error and misery down the silent corridors of time.

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

Ralph Bunche Has Thrown Off the Burden of Being A Negro by Accomplishment

By MARJORIE McKENZIE

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

TIME MAGAZINE was not the only commentator on the contemporaneous reaching of milestones in the careers of Bill Hastie and Ben Davis, nor on the fact that both had been outstanding members of the Class of 1925 at Amherst. Another well-known Negro of that same class, Dr. Montague Cobb of Howard University, saw not only close timing, but a parallel in the events which caused Gov. William H. Hastie to be nominated by President Truman to the Third Circuit Court of Appeals and New York City Councilman Benjamin Davis, one of the eleven convicted Communist leaders, to be sentenced the following day.



M. McKenzie

Dr. Cobb's comment was made on the occasion of the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity's recent Hotel Pierre banquet in honor of Dr. Ralph J. Bunche. During a speech in which, with his usual wit and brilliance, he was introducing Dr. Bunche, Dr. Cobb said that a fact that might not be so immediately evident is that the careers of Bill Hastie and Ben Davis are answers to the same problem.

I BELIEVE THAT Dr. Cobb meant to imply that, however divergent their views, there is a similar intensity of devotion to ideals in his two classmates in their approach to the problem of race. And the audience, responding with warmth and understanding, indicated its admiration of both.

When Ralph Bunche arose to speak, the sense of identification among his listeners deepened. He said that he was proud to be a Negro. He said that he didn't believe the individual could escape the group to which he belongs. No Negro has ever been in the mainstream of American life, he asserted, and no Negro ever will be until the whole group is in the mainstream.

This, from Ralph Bunche, about whom it can be said in more truth than about any other currently famous Negro, that here is an individual who has thrown off the burdens of the group. Suddenly, the Harlem that needs housing and jobs, that is hungry and dirty and sick, moved fifty blocks downtown into that golden, lush banquet room. I think if Ben Davis had walked in, at that moment, he would have been cheered by the Negro bourgeoisie in their handsome dinner clothes.

* * *

IS THIS RACIAL chauvinism? Probably. Its pull and its evil can be rooted out, but the permissible and necessary limits of racial identification are a matter to be troubled about again and again. Some of us went on from the Bunche dinner to a political meeting in Harlem where we heard Ewart Guinier, the American Labor Party candidate for Borough President of Manhattan. Guinier, who is a full-time executive of the United Federal Workers of America, a union of some 80,000 Government workers, is making, as a part of his campaign technique, a frankly racial appeal.

He points out that none of the major parties in Manhattan — Democratic, Republican, Liberal or Fusion — has named a Negro candidate for any of the scores of **important offices** to be filled by the November elections. With one exception: Earl Brown is running on a combined Democratic-Republican-Liberal nomination against Ben Davis for City Council.

* * *

DAVIS OCCUPIES THE only elective office any Negro holds in New York, except for three judgeships and a few county committeemen, although the Negro vote in Harlem alone approximates 125,000.

No Negro, Ralph Bunche has said, will ever be in the mainstream of American life until the whole group is. He was speaking of result, not method. The rub comes in the group's conflicting notions about how it moves into the mainstream, in its estimates of the sincerity of white men who say they will help and in what is, in fact, the intention of the white world.

The method of racial solidarity is pretty thoroughly discredited by Negro and liberal leadership. Ewart Guinier, whose own life is a refutation of racial chauvinism, is willing to invoke racial strength for one isolated contest. Should he win, he would be, potentially, a stepping stone into the mainstream. And his victory would teach a lesson to the promise makers and breakers of the major parties.

* * *

Can these considerations be extricated from the competing ideologies which political parties represent? Could the means and the ends be reconciled? Could they be separated? For Negro New Yorkers the answers would not be easy.

Negro(Al Monroe)

Swinging the News

31a (negro)

By AL MONROE

COMPOSERS' SUIT for royalties and apparent attempt to annul copyright of the tune 'Flamingo' turned over to Tempo music company back in 1941, claims $4,000 turned over is $8,000 short of amount due.—NUMBER WAS first recorded by Duke Ellington with vocals by Herb Jeffries—a hit parader.—CAROL BRICE'S appearance at Southern U in Baton Rouge, La., was first in series planned by the school. OTHER ARTISTS due to appear include Robert Shaw Chorus; Margaret Webster Shakespearean company and Talley Beatty dancers. —EARLE THEATRE in Philly, gets Duke Ellington's band this week to be followed by week at Apollo Thanksgiving.—PALACE THEATRE in Chicago, is finding 'flesh' talent a big boom for box office sales. COOK AND BROWN danced on the revival bill several months ago and are scheduled to return for the holidays.—JOHNNY HARTMAN, Chicago chirper, who starred on a recent Arthur Godfrey Show (Television) has received several offers, including one to join a show touring abroad which he may accept. THE PRESENCE OF Louis Jordan in Chicago meant a clincher for his performance here at the annual Jordan Benefit League Fashion show Nov. 26.—JOHNNY HODGES, Duke Ellington's sax star, has won more musicians' polls than any other individual artist.

MARVA LOUIS writing in a national magazine says: "For 14 years I was married to the man whom girls considered the best catch in America." Flash! Does she mean now or then? KILLER JOHNSON, the cafe baron, either left his car parked around the corner or was "visiting" on another street t'other yaam. WHICH IS THE case, Killer?—JOE HUGHES, cafe owner, says summers should be longer to permit him to wallop more guys like Johnny Dowell on the golf course. WHICH REMINDS us to say Joe's sister, Inez, is back from hurried vacation trip to Detroit. FOLKS WHO buy flowers from popular Marie Gentry think as much of her accompanying smile as they do of the fresh flowers she handles. "ANNA LUCASTA" public relations department jumped the gun announcing Janice Kingslow as "Anna" in the edition appearing in the South before it arrived. FLASH! JANICE turned the trip down and the billing was not changed. THE EDDIE FLAGG youngster, not yet six, is able to handle desk keys and room guests at the DuSable which is going some.—ELLIOT ROUSE has been entertaining an Englishman met while the Como hotel owner was touring abroad.—JUANITA PERSON, back from the West Coast, is proving where she's been with a tattle tale sun tan.

EVERYTIME A KNOCK on your door announces "Police" don't open your door to hurriedly; there may be something wrong. FOR INSTANCE, Ray Hutchins, an emcee in Philly, opened his door during progress of a party and holdups entered taking several hundred dollars in cash and jewelry.—A. PHILIP RANDOLPH told listeners at a major meet in Los Angeles: "Negro leaders should take a stand against Communism before it is too late." Mr. Randolph also predicted that unless leaders move fast the leftists will soon have control of the NAACP, Labor Unions and other civic groups.—TODD DUNCAN APPEARING in "Lost In The Stars" on Broadway says his biggest thrill was returning from the stage to find Prime Minister Nehru awaiting to greet him. "What a thrill, what a man," Duncan told reporters following the visit of the royal party that also included Nehru's sister, Mme. Pandit.

Jews Are Hustling, Working Around the Clock

Courier's Prattis Rides Through Israel

Pittsburgh Courier Jan 4-23-49

Pittsburgh Courier Jan 4-23-49

BY P. L. PRATTIS, Courier Executive Editor

TEL AVIV, Israel — The symbol of the change in the course of history which has been brought about by the aspirations and persecutions of the Jews the world over, is the new Republic of Israel. One cannot tread the streets of Israel's cities nor ride through its countryside, without feeling the impact of history, ancient and modern.

The evidence of history presses upon one. It is in the ground, the air, in the place names, in the looks and the dress of the people, in the hills and the valleys, the mountains, the seas and the rivers. It is also in the spirit and the attitude of the people. Ancient history is reflected in the patriarchs of the church. Modern history is reflected in the "bright young men" who are carefully charting the way for the new state.

I flew from Rhodes to Tel Aviv (a four-hour trip in a small plane seating seven passengers) with Mordechai Rosenne. He is a 37-year-old lawyer, born and educated in England, who has cast his lot in the new land of promise. Rosenne was a legal adviser in the office of foreign affairs and served as counsel for the men who negotiated the armistice agreement with Transjordan. He is an example of the type of leadership upon which Israel is depending.

Israel—a young, active, useful people, ranging in age from twenty-odd to forty, and an old generation the oldest of which is nearer sixty than above. The generation between [illegible] It was largely killed [illegible] Europe. The next generation, the children, has its future [illegible] and is being carefully [illegible] and nurtured. Rosenne belongs to the first generation [illegible] realizes that Israel [illegible] because it lacks its full complement of persons who would constitute the middle generation.

* * *

BUT THE LEADERS of the state are pressing ahead, feverishly. There is everything to be done. The cessation of hostilities with the surrounding Arabs was just one job—important, it is true, but not much more important than many others that immediately confront these makers of a nation.

Now that the semblance of peace has been restored, the next most compelling job is to find room and a future for thousands and thousands of Jews who must and will emigrate to Israel.

If you flew over the northern section of the Republic, as I did—over Galilee and the plains of Sharon—you would wonder what these newcomers shall do, where they shall live. The land has a barren, sandy aspect from the air. Furthermore, there is not much of it. From the air, it seems like you might easily walk the distance (in some places) from the seacoast of Israel to the boundaries of Syria and Transjordan in less than half a day. There are some sections of the country only two miles wide. It seems like such a small, small country.

* * *

YET, MORE THAN a million persons have lived in it (before the Arabs left) and there is little doubt that it will be called upon to supply the good life for many more than a million in the near years to come. These newcomers are going to demand that the land give them a better life than those who lived upon it before.

The cities of Palestine are humming. The land upon which Tel Aviv, a bustling, modern, bright city, rests, was a sandy waste thirty-five years ago. Today, it is a community of more than two hundred thousand busy, hustling people. It is set off with broad streets and boulevards, beautiful apartment houses, tree-shaded parks, strikingly built theatres, alluring beaches and glorious sunshine.

I thought I had known Jews—in many American communities. But most American Jews would not know themselves in Tel Aviv. There is something infectious in the air. Who ever heard Jews singing through the windows of their homes? Who ever heard of Jews strolling the streets, singing, singing, singing. They are cheerful, resonant people in Tel Aviv. The load has been lifted and the inhibitions have imperceptibly vanished.

* * *

AFTER THE REMARKABLE beauty of Tel Aviv, I was scarcely prepared for Haifa. It is an old city and I had rather thought it would have the ruined and worn appearance of Athens where I had been but a few days before. But nothing could be further from the truth. Haifi is a city of jewels set upon a hill. The hill is the Bible's Mount Carmel. The city, its modern structures built in a riot of colors, begins at the waterfront, the Mediterranean, and climbs starkly into the sky on the top of its mountains.

Gardens of the most beautiful flowers ornament this mountain side and make the breath of the [illegible] as he ascends in a heavy-ing American automobile. Once on top, it is possible to look into the Mediterranean on one side and into the Bay of Acre on the other. I could scarcely pick any American city the size of Haifa which has so many new and modern buildings and dwellings.

* * *

HOWEVER, THE CITIES of Israel are not going to deliver it. Israel is going to need much more housing, much more food (for home consumption and export), much more money and statesmanship of the highest quality in order to win not only peace, but cooperation as well from her neighbors.

The housing need is forcing Israelites to build and build and build, in town and country. The job is tougher in the towns than it is in the country because the country people systematically fend for themselves. Thousands of persons are now living in what are known as communal settlements. These are collectivized farm areas.

The leaders in these settlements are careful to point out the fundamental difference between their settlements and the ones in Russia. In Russia, they say, the people are tied to these collective farms whether they wish to be or not. In Israel, the people move in or out as a matter of choice.

They are indeed unique. One of these settlements which I visited is known as Ein Hashofet. It is presently populated by about four hundred men, women and children. Most of the adults are Americans, many from New York. They have set up the kind of community they want, and they are satisfied with it. I talked at length with Mr. and Mrs. Joshua Leibner. They are an intelligent, middle-aged couple. Mr. Leibner finished New York University and worked as a teacher. Mrs. Leibner had scarcely finished Brooklyn College when Mr. Leibner asked her to marry him. The future looked them both in the face and they decided to go to Palestine.

* * *

TODAY, THEY ARE two educated, intelligent people, choosing to live simply and work hard on the land. They have nothing of their own but the clothes they wear. They have one room. Their two children live with the other children of the settlement, not with their parents. But I was unable to discern that this arrangement delimited in no sense the affection from parent to child and child to parent.

Every person in the settlement lives equally. They eat together. They all work at jobs assigned to them. Mrs. Leibner does not have to care for her children, so she serves as nurse. Other women are cooks and laundresses. Most of the men are farmers, but some must be shoemakers and tailors and carpenters and electricians and what-not, for theirs is a self-contained community.

You could not have failed to be impressed by the manner in which these people have organized themselves and the methods they are using to scratch a living out of unwilling rocky soil. Despite the meanness of the earth all around, they have won communal prosperity. All their needs are taken care of and they are not bothered by "the troubles of this world."

* * *

MRS. LEIBNER QUICKLY reacted when a friend tried to explain to me why she and her husband were "sacrificing" to make the settlement a success.

"But we are not sacrificing," she interposed. "This is the way we want to live." Earlier, I mentioned the oncoming generation of children. There's a crop which is regarded as a treasure in Israel. You must know that there are hundreds, thousands of parentless children, who have come to the new country from Europe. They must be made into useful citizens and, somehow, the future must be made so bright that the past will tend to be obscured. For these children, different types of communities are operated. Some of the communities are for the youngest of the children. There they live in the most modern surroundings, under the most expert care of all kinds, and learn to know that they are wanted. The wound of lost parents is healed.

At a certain age, probably nine or ten, they are moved from these settlements into others where they are reared exactly as are the children of Mr. and Mrs. Leibner. Here they become members of the ongoing community and just like the Leibner children may or may not choose to continue in their parents' footsteps, so these orphans once they are grown, may decide to continue in the community or go out into the larger world.

* * *

BUT WHATEVER THEIR choice they will reach manhood and womanhood as healthy, educated, trained citizens of the State of Israel.

It is important to note here that the most modern educational and social work methods are being employed in these communities.

In spite of what has been done in the communal settlements to wrest a living from the land, these pioneers need help. Thirty-five million dollars of a hundred million dollar loan to Israel is going to be used to develop agricultural resources. It is estimated that the first year's increase from the use of this money will amount to twenty-two million dollars.

'I Am Eager To Get Back'

BY P. L. PRATTIS

(Courier Executive Editor)

RHODES, Dodecanese Islands—"I am eager to get back to my work with the [illegible] Division of the United Nations," Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, world's top diplomatic figure, told The Pittsburgh Courier in an exclusive interview here Sunday. He was preparing to leave here, flying back to the United States this week, his work done.

It was highly probable that in that statement Dr. Bunche, acclaimed for his masterful handling of the tense Near East problem was dismissing a potential acceptance of an Ambassadorship to Russia, for which the United States Department of State has been reportedly considering him.

DEPUTIES TAKING OVER

Dr. Bunche said he was turning over the task of concluding final negotiations with Syria to deputies on his Palestine Commission. Sunday night, he had, himself, finished the pact between King Abdullah's Trans-Jordan and Israel, with all parties having signed what was probably the most difficult of all the agreements needed to bring peace to the Near East. Only Syria remained to be brought into the peace orbit.

The Trans-Jordan signing ceremony was held in the Gold Room of the Hotel of Roses. Dr. Bunche, who had lost his glasses earlier in the day, read through the entire agreement before asking the delegations if they completely concurred in the final draft. They did.

Dr. Bunche thanked the delegates for the cooperation they had given the commission and presented each member with a sample of Rhodes pottery as a mark of his appreciation. In turn the heads of each delegation spoke words of praise for Dr. Bunche and the members of the Mediation Commission for bringing peace to Palestine.

Jan 4-29-49

BACK TO U. S.

With Syria turned over to deputies, Dr. Bunche will leave here for the United States this week.

The fighting in Palestine is not over by any means. Iraqi and Israeli troops still face each other on the plains of Sharon. If it became impossible to effect an armistice with Syria peace might still be far away in Palestine. However, his hopefulness. This evidence of although General Riley, military aide to Dr. Bunche, had been in effect interned by the Revolutionists at Damascus it was felt that the negotiations with Syria would proceed favorably. It was indi-

HOPEFUL ATTITUDE

Dr. Bunche took his correspondent into one of the rooms in his suite to show a bit of evidence of the spirit in which he tries to regard which helps to explain the attitude of all these nations. Thus working with Dr. Bunche easily has won the confidence of all the representatives of the United Nations has upon it representatives from many nations. Thus working with him whether they were inclined toward an uprising were finally agreed upon and armistice.

Dr. Bunche and his aides are trained men from Egypt, from Israel and as a memento of the negotiations. Although Dr. Bunche's part reflects the three destroyers and a corvette.

The team, or commission, as represented by the United Nations [illegible] pottery which is made at Rhodes. It had been especially made at the order of Dr. Bunche and engraved as a memento of the negotiations

other United Nations members. They help to smooth over the rough spots.

Dr. Mohn is a Swede, who has given his life to diplomatic service; John Reedman is a South African, Sales Mahmoud, an Egyptian, is one of Dr. Bunche's political advisers. Men like these have been helping to chart the course for Dr. Bunche as he carried the ball for the United Nations. With the Trans-Jordan agreement signed, Dr. Bunche feels that the biggest part of the job is over. He has deputized representatives to conduct the negotiations with Syria.

—WHAT'S HAPPENED TO INGRAM CASE?—

Lem Graves covers the political scene in the Nation's Capital in his popular "Washington Notebook" regularly in The Courier.

Prattis' Trip Was a Blip

(Courier Foreign Press Service)

ROME, Italy—When The [illegible] Courier sent its executive editor, P. L. Prattis, here on his way to the Island of Rhodes to interview Dr. Ralph Bunche, neither The Courier nor Mr. Prattis had any idea that so many complications would develop before the editor was finally cleared to fly from here to Rhodes.

But what happened to Mr. Prattis would definitely have ruined the good disposition of most men, whether accustomed to smoothing out difficult situations or not. Here's what he had to go through before he was cleared:

Prattis reached Rome at 7:30 A. M., March 29, from France, with, at least, three major objectives: 1. Get a room; 2. See if there was any way he could get from Rome to Rhodes to see Dr. Bunche, and 3. Get his French visa renewed so that he could return to France upon completion of his mission.

Things started humming as soon as he arrived. He found himself clawing through Italians at the railroad station and placed himself in charge of a taxi driver who immediately charged him two and a half times as much as he should have just to take Mr. Prattis to the hotel.

NEEDED GREEK VISA

Once lodged in the hotel, Prattis went to work on plans to reach Dr. Bunche. He went to the Pan-American World Airways office and found they had planes flying from Rome to Athens, then others from Athens to Rhodes. They worked out a round-trip schedule for him which had him leaving Rome at 6:10 the next morning (if they could get him a seat).

But there was another "if." Mr. Prattis didn't have a Greek visa and everybody knows how things are in Greece these days. So, while Pan-American was trying to find a seat for Mr. Prattis, he went to the Greek Legation seeking that all-important visa. He had managed, meanwhile, to eat a bun and drink a cup of coffee, standing.

At the Greek Legation, complete dumbness met the editor. He would have to return at 11:30, he was told. It was then 10 o'clock. So Prattis grabbed a taxi and was off for the French Embassy, where he figured he could save time by securing renewal of his French visa while awaiting for action by the Greeks.

CLIMBED SIXTY-FOUR STAIRS

Surprise! The French informed him, after he had waited and waited and waited, that if he returned after April 1 he would no longer need a visa. Hooray! That was that, and so, off again to see what the Greek situation had produced. Back to the Greek Legation, Mr. Prattis was told to return at 2 o'clock, meaning more waiting while he was anxious to get out of town.

Then after a long wait, Mr. Prattis is told he would have to have a letter of endorsement from the American Embassy, so he hustled off to the American Embassy and got the letter without much difficulty. Then to hurry back to the Greek Legation—where, incidentally, he had to climb a flight of sixty-four steps getting up there, and which he climbed four times.

CONSUL EXPLODES

There was more waiting and some fussing and fuming before Mr. Prattis finally managed to corner the Greek Consul. The Greek Consul was pretty het up, too. Who did Mr. Prattis think he was? Didn't Mr. Pratt's know you had to wait for those things? But he finally took care of the visa, and then Mr. Prattis found Pan-American had no seat for him.

His life was saved by Trans-World Airlines which had a 1:30 A. M. flight out to Rhodes, with a seat on it. Mr. Prattis took it, searched an hour for a restaurant, found one, ate a poor meal, paid a big check, and then was ready to get on the plane when time came. It had been a hectic day!

THE HORIZON

By P. L. PRATTIS

IF I TAKE any comfort out of the evidence which accumulates to show that I (my people) am superior to white folk, it is not because either in heart or mind, I feel superior, or want to feel superior. It is rather because the whites have made such a fetish and a game of lording it over others and feeling superior. I can't help chuckling when they slip upon a banana peel that's in my favor, any old kind of banana peel.



Mr. Prattis

Recently, I read over the ratings in the pugilistic world issued by the National Boxing Association. Far be it from me to maintain that prizefighting is one of man's worthiest or most challenging endeavors. But it is a little sport which whites (I guess) developed to show a certain kind of prowess and strength and skill and they have always put great store by it.

* * *

A HEAVYWEIGHT champion is paid more and can draw a bigger crowd any day than an Einstein or a Steinmetz. Prizefight champions, therefore, do count in the American (white) way of sizing up things.

In the list I read, there were the following rated as champions:

JOE LOUIS, heavyweight.

FREDDIE MILLS, light heavyweight.

MARCEL CERDAN, middleweight.

RAY ROBINSON, welterweight.

IKE WILLIAMS, lightweight.

SAMMY SADDLER, featherweight.

MANUEL ORTIZ, bantamweight.

RINTY MONOGHAN, flyweight.

All of the above young men are champions of the world in their respective classes.

If you will study the list for a few seconds, you may discern something that will surprise you. Boxing is more or less of an American game, like baseball. But there isn't a single white American listed among the champions in the eight classes. The champions all come from the so-called minority groups.

* * *

FOUR OF THE champions are Negroes: Louis, heavyweight; Robinson, welterweight; Williams, lightweight, and Saddler, featherweight. There are foreigners: Freddie Mills, light heavyweight, English; Marcel Cerdan, middleweight, French, and Rinty Monoghan, flyweight, Irish. Manuel Ortiz, the bantamweight, is Mexican, or Mexican-American.

Where is the great white race of the Rankins, the Talmadges, the Eastlands? What has happened to the muscles of the descendents of Thor and Beowulf? In the olden days, the hairy ancestors of our white supremacists performed feats of valor and of strength that intoxicated poets and themselves. Where are they now? What are they doing?

One is made to wonder (if one reads the white man's literature about his past) whether the feats he brags about were really so worthwhile after all. One must ask whether the poets have not embellished too much or whether, if they wrote truly according to their lights, the feats seemed great because of lack of competition.

Not a single white supremacist is a champion in the lists where lion hearts are needed. Worse, they are not even around challenging. Two other Negroes, Jersey Joe Walcott and Ezzard Charles, wait for Louis to drop dead. Beau Jack is beckoning to Ray Robinson. Where you don't find Negroes pounding on the doors, you run into men with queer names, not the Anglo-Saxons.

* * *

OF COURSE, ONE of the chief reasons I think about these things where the evidence seems to indicate that the Negro is superior, is that the evidence more reasonably shows that the Negro or any other minority will show what he has in the way of talent if given a chance. For some strange reason (maybe because it is a sort of animal sport), Negroes have always been welcomed in the prize ring. They haven't always been fairly treated, but they have been given a chance. Even when verdicts against them have been unfair, their performance in the ring has counted for them against an unfair verdict. Furthermore, they have had it within their power to render the verdict by knocking out their foes. They have made the referee unnecessary—except to see that the rules are observed.

Given the chance to show his stuff in the prize ring during the past century and a half, the Negro has made good — has distinguished himself. American Negroes lead the world in prize-fighting. They are the best America has to offer.

In the same way, the Negro would earn his true place and make his contribution in other areas of American life if only given a chance.

* * *

DUMB AS HE may look, the Negro has more to give to the South than the white man. The Negro in the South is more virile, more creative, more gifted, naturally. That would be demonstrated were it not for segregation. The Southern white man instinctively knows and fears that fact. That is what the white supremacist has in mind when he speaks of Negro domination. He fears Negro competition. He knows that if the arbitrary shackles were removed from the backs of the Negro the latter would go to town. Rather than let the Negro compete with him, he forces him to compete against poverty, ignorance and disease.

Someday, the enlightened whites in the South will find a way to start working with the Negro. Then, and only then, will the most favored section of our country have a chance to become the most enlightened and the most prosperous section.

The Negro Has More To Give to the South Than the White Man

"I am convinced myself that there is no more evil thing in this present world than race prejudice. None at all. I write deliberately—it is the worst single thing in life now. It justifies and holds together more baseness, cruelty and abomination than any other sort of error in the world."—H. G. WELLS.

Prophet of India Warns Imperialism Is Doomed to Die

Courier-Post Sat. 8 to 49
Pittsburgh, Pa.
31a

By P. L. PRATTIS, Courier Executive Editor
(Eighth in a Series)

NEW DELHI, India—Colonialism must die—become extinct. Colonialism and its handmaiden, imperialism, is facing death in Asia and Africa. A definite date when the system colonialism represents in these two continents will expire cannot be set. But its death, its execution, must come as the result of a mandate of the course of history today. History today decrees a fundamental change in human relationships throughout the world. It decrees, especially, that all the peoples of Asia and Africa shall be freed from the yoke of the foreign exploiter.

The above paragraph is a slight paraphrase of words spoken to me by Pandit Jawaraharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India.

As I listened, while one word followed another from his mouth and the full meaning of them became clear to me, I could not suppress a tendency to doubt whether he meant to say all that the words conveyed. I looked at the Prime Minister intently, studied him. I knew I must not make a mistake with this man. My job was to quote his words and to give their exact meaning.

Mr. Nehru had spoken softly, quietly, dispassionatel. His manner of speech did not help to convey his meaning. He talked matter-of-factly, as matter-of-factly as a child mother talking in monotones to her dolls.

Force Not Hinted

There was no suggestion of force in what he said, as he said it. There was no threat, no hint of prophecy.

I thought I could discern the difference between Nehru's manner of making the above statement and that of a prophet. I thought of a weather forecaster (prophet). Certain conditions cause rain. When it has been determined that those conditions are (or will be) present, the weather forecaster tells you there is going to be rain.

In the same way, Nehru seemed to know that conditions were ripe for colonialism to come to an end.

Even so, I could not swallow whole the morsel the Prime Minister had given me. I considered the fact that he in an Asiatic. Asia is so large, is peopled by so many millions, that it is not difficult to think that Asia symbolizes the world, that any factor powerful enough to influence Asia must, perforce, influence the entire world. I could see how the Prime Minister's words fit into the context of what has happened, is happening, in Asia. Colonialism has come upon bad days in India, Ceylon, Burma, Indo-China. Freedom's pot is boiling in Asia.

Whole System Included

I ventured to suggest to Mr. Nehru that I could see how the system of colonialism had begun to disintegrate in Asia, and then continued:

"But what you have just said is all-inclusive in respect to colonialism. Although you are an Asiatic, you did not confine your forecast to colonialism in Asia. You described colonialism as an evil system and you said that after three hundred years of lusty living it is dying. Did you mean also that colonialism is going to die in Africa, in the Union of South Africa?"

"Oh, yes," the Prime Minister replied quickly, more quickly than is his habit. He held out his arms, the palms of his hands open, in a gesture meant to indicate that he could not make a definite prediction, then added:

Indefinite on Time

"Of course, it is not possible to predict exactly when the system will die—in Africa or anywhere else. It looks now as though its end will come in Asia before it does in Africa, but colonialism is as much doomed in Africa as in Asia. Its death there may occur later.

"The same outer pressures and inner forces of decay which are destroying colonialism in Asia will ultimately cause its death in Africa. That is as certain and true for the Union of South Africa as for the rest of Africa. The course of history must move on."

The Prime Minister seemed to imply that imperialism is up against a new, dominant spirit in the world and that the system which bred imperialism based on racial discrimination cannot exist in the same world at the same time as the new spirit, a spirit which represents man's present revolutionary aspiration for freedom. The relationships between human beings everywhere, he said, are going to be fundamentally altered by the existence and pervasive force of this new spirit.

Negro Prejudice Less Abroad, Editor Believes

Courier-Journal

By ROBERT BRANSON
United Press Staff Writer.

New Delhi.—An American Negro editor says a trip from Washington to India has convinced him that color discrimination is harsher in the United States than most other countries, but that American Negroes are "mighty fortunate" even so.

P. L. Prattis, executive editor of the Negro weekly, Pittsburgh Courier, explained that during a six-month tour of Europe, the Middle East and Asia, he found "no place where there is more active, open prejudice against human beings on account of their color than in the United States."

Prattis, who had lunched earlier in the day with Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, leaned back in an armchair in his room at one of New Delhi's best hotels. It was a big, comfortable room with electric fans and a thick carpet.

Living Good In U. S.

"You think I could get a room like this in Washington?" he asked. "I have been to no capital of any country which practices the kind of discrimination you find in Washington."

On the other hand, Prattis said, as far as living standards were concerned, American Negroes were "far better off" in general than Negroes he had met abroad.

"From the economic point of view, the United States is the best country with the best future for the Negro," the editor said. "Where else do you find there's plenty of food for everybody. You certainly can't say that about most places I've been."

Prattis said he had found Nehru "a very impressive man."

Nehru Sincere.

"He talked mostly about the hunger and low standard of living in India," Prattis said. "But it wasn't just high-sounding political talk. He sounded as though the problem really hurt him, and as though he would give everything to solve it."

Prattis said Nehru apparently was "a great admirer" of Paul Robeson, and wanted to know when the Negro singer was going to visit India.

"He said Paul had been promising to come out here for 11 years," Prattis added.

Since he left Pittsburgh last January, Prattis has visited England, France, Germany, Italy, Greece, Egypt, Israel (at the invitation of Dr. Ralph Bunche), and India.

THE HORIZON

Is Envy and Fear of the Negro Behind Fair Test Really Be[ing] Segregation of the Negro?

By P. L. PRATTIS

RECENTLY, a letter was received from a white man which opened up a train of thought. One of the [illegible] man, who [illegible] "pushy," is based upon the Negro's predominance in sports, particularly those in which he is given any chance to compete with whites.

This white man singled out boxing and said that the game is being killed (so far as the interest of whites is concerned) because Negroes have won the spotlight. This is supposed to be what happens when the Negro neglects to restrain himself and to remain in his place.

In the course of this Pittsburgh Pirates baseball team tee-ed off on a Negro red cap. In the course of letting himself go, the Pirate manager berated the Negroes now playing in the big leagues. He, Tennessee-born, thought they had gotten out of their place. "They'll be trying to take my place next," he complained to the red cap.

* * *

THIS SULKING ON the part of whites is an interesting and significant aspect of race relations. My colleague, Mr. Cayton, is well aware of the guilt complex which plagues whites who allow themselves to think seriously about the race problem. But what about this envy complex? What about this human being who litanizes his superiority to watch developments in baseball. The nation as a whole has idolized its baseball heroes back through the years—Rube Waddell, Cy Young, Mathewson, Chance, Lajole, Grove, Ty Cobb, Babe Ruth, and scores of others. What will happen in the near future when the color of the heroes is destined to change? This year Jackie Robinson may end up as the best all-around player in the National League.

At this writing, he is leading the league in batting, in the number of hits made, in the number of triplets and doubles, in the number of bases stolen. He is definitely, Negroes among the contenders.

Will whites actually desert the sport because better games and lost six and is leading the league in strikeouts. This is the first year of the 23-year-old hurler and he started the season late.

Every Negro in the big leagues who is playing regularly is hitting above or around .300—that takes in Robinson, Newcombe,

IT IS GOING to be interesting



Mr. Prattis

Campanella, Thompson and Doby. It seems that all these boys need to do is to get used to their big league surroundings and they start pounding the ball. They come from a race of .300 hitters.

• • •

ALL THIS IS ENOUGH to make white folk quake in their boots. What will they do? Will they ultimately decide that baseball is not so great a sport after all? Will they look elsewhere to do their hero-worshipping when the sultans of swat and the strikeout artists change color? Will they transfer their interest to some little known sport or will they invent new types of sports activities which they may enjoy by themselves until Negroes catch on?

Of course, it is difficult to predict what whites will do when confronted by problems involving color. They do not act rationally nor humanly. Color allows for exceptions in all their rules. It isn't even cowardice in their lexicon to be afraid of Negroes. That is all explained away by insisting that there's something not just right in competing against such people, that you are not supposed to compete against them because they are sort of close to the animal and whites are close to God.

Obviously, this fear and envy, which are so discernible in the field of sports, is not, cannot be, restricted there. It certainly seems reasonable to assume that if whites fear Negroes in one field of competition, they will in another as well. The logical conclusion of whites, therefore, must be to "contain" Negroes where they are or to put space between themselves and Negroes when Negroes begin to "encroach."

Perhaps it won't be long before whites will have to find substitute sports for tennis and golf. Negroes are encroaching in them also.

3-19 The Courier, Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE HORIZON

The Color Issue Doesn't Have Much Significance For Non-American People

By P. L. PRATTIS

WHEN you are an American Negro traveling in sections of the world where an American Negro is rarely, if ever, encountered, and you continue to think out of what has been your peculiar life experience, you find it necessary to reassess and revalue situations involving race and color.



Mr. Prattis

It is easy for the American Negro, because of the enormity of the crime which he has been a victim, to feel that the issue of color has the same sharp significance for all peoples that it does for him. Nothing could be further from the truth. Because most of the people, after you leave Europe, whether they are white or brown or yellow, are illiterate, they know nothing of the existence of the American Negro and his special color problem.

• • •

EVEN EDUCATED PERSONS in Europe, Asia and Africa, fail to regard the color problem as we do.

On the flight from London there were two men whom I noticed. One was large, gruff and fair. I assumed he might be a light native of some Middle Eastern country. The other was slender and dark with dark hair. I concluded he was an Egyptian, a Syrian or a Greek. Neither of the gentlemen was what I supposed him to be. They were both Scots.

The slender, dark Scotsman and I became good pals. We whiled away our time in the evenings on the hotel varanda together. He was an engineer and had come to Egypt on a three-year assignment. He had been a lieutenant in the Royal Navy and had seen service in all parts of the world during the late war.

• • •

ONE EVENING, WE had just begun our regular vigil of watching the crowds go by from the veranda when he mentioned what a busy day he had had. I looked at him quizzically.

"I'm joining the club," he volunteered, "and I have been running around getting the proper endorsements."

I know almost instinctively what he meant. In these African and Asian countries, the English always maintain special, exclusive clubs for themselves. Such clubs have become notorious because of their color snobbishness. I did not tell my friend what I was thinking, but only answered:

"H'mmph! That ought to cost you a lot of money."

As a Scot, he seemed to reflect that it might cut into his resources.

I asked him to tell me about the club. He did, describing enthusiastically all the facilities it had and the chance you had to meet the best people and make friends.

"I suppose the Americans also have their club," I ventured.

"Oh, no," he replied quickly, "they use this one."

'Oh, they do, do they?" I retorted as noncommittally as possible. Then I asked: "What about the Egyptians? Do they belong to this club, too?"

"No," my friend replied matter-of-factly, "none save a few. They are a bit careful about the Egyptians they take in."

I don't think my friend had caught on to what was in the back of my mind, for presently he said with complete candor and sincerity: "If you were coming back here to stay, I'd be glad to take you in. I would be your endorser."

Sat. 7-16-49

NOW HOW DOES that all work out? Here is an Anglo-Saxon club in Egypt. Egyptians are carefully screened before they are admitted and there is a conscious policy of limiting the number of Egyptians.

The Egyptians are the victims of this social exclusion just like ot... Africans and Asiatics. The Americans are included—they are white. I cannot but believe that other whites, Germans, Swiss, French, and so forth, are also admitted. And (if my friend knew his social register) I would be admitted. I am dark, but I am an American.

I am darker than some of the Egyptians, but there is not enough of me (here in Egypt) to create a problem. Maybe the English would let me in. Maybe the Americans would object. Anyhow, my young Scot was taking me as American, pure and simple.

Sat. 7-16-49

I DON'T KNOW whether Egyptians ignore this type of social exclusiveness in their own country, or whether they are just dumb to it. It's rather difficult to make them see that any sort of color line is drawn against them.

They can't understand because although the majority and illiterate population is dark, the minority and literate section is very often fair. This minority does not see how a color line could be drawn against it.

3-19 The Courier, Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE HORIZON

Some Social Conditions In U. S. Cause Egyptians To Feel Sorry for Us

By P. L. PRATTIS

ONE of the world's first great civilizations belonged to Egypt. That was long before there were what we would call civilized peoples in Europe. Egypt boasted a civilization before Greece was introduce to recorded history, centuries before Rome was founded.



Mr. Prattis

In fact, the glories of Egypt's past are spread along a bright vista that ended in the fourth century before Christ and began some two thousand years earlier. Since Egypt was conquered by the Greeks in the fourth century before Christ, Egyptians have been morally sustaining themselves by thinking more or less of the past. They must be "civilized," they assume, because they WERE civilized.

This piece is not written to imply or charge that present-day Egyptians are not civilized. They are. However, this writer has been impressed by the readiness of Egyptians to remind you that they are a civilized people, particularly in comparison with their neighbors.

• • •

THEY AT LEAST want the outside world to feel that Egypt is civilized like Greece, Turkey, Italy, Germany, France and other European countries. They don't want the outside world to think that Egypt belongs in the same category as Syria, Arabia, Transjordan, Irak, Lybia, or other Asiatic and African areas.

One of the reasons Egyptians feel this way is because, from their point of view, they are correct. When Egyptians compare themselves with nationals of other countries, or their standards of living with those of other countries, they compare their best with the best of other countries, and they ignore their worst.

Sat. 7-30-49

The disposition to do this is a fault, but it is not a fault which is peculiar to Egyptians or unique with them. So far as foreigners are concerned, the American way of life is depicted in terms of the best there is in the United States.

• • •

THE SAME IS TRUE when reports are written about other countries. Americans do not choose to say that the slums of New York or Philadelphia or Memphis or Los Angeles are representative of America, or denote the quality of her civilization. Englishmen would certainly be reluctant to use London's East End or the "cave dweller" sections of her seaport towns as symbols of the English manner of living. The same would be true of the citizens of any other country. They define, and regard, their civilization in terms of how a substantial number of their best people live. This might mean in terms of bath tubs, electrical gadgets, symphony orchestras, scientific interest and discovery, employment of leisure time, homes, et cetera, et cetera.

The Egyptians feel that they are just as good, or civilized, as anybody else, because there is a percentage of Egyptians who live just as well in as highly civilized a fashion, as do a percentage of Frenchmen, Italians, Englishmen or Americans. They don't think of identifying themselves in terms of their lower classes and their low standard of living any more than Americans, Englishmen, Spaniards or Portuguese. So far as the Egyptians are concerned, the masses, living in poverty and filth, in squalor that is repulsive to the western eye, belong to the nation, but the classes, the upper twenty or fifteen percent, set the standards by which the nation should be known.

7-30-49

AMONG THESE UPPER classes one will find a manner of living which, from the standpoint of luxury and convenience, is not excelled in any other country.

It is necessary to understand the attitude of the Egyptians if one's poise is not to be upset when some of them question you about conditions in your country. They heave heard or read about the slums in American cities, about the sharecroppers, about crime rates, and so forth. In utter earnestness, they ply you with questions about these conditions.

• • •

I HAVE SEEN the slums of New York and the slums of Cairo. I know that the slums of Cairo are infinitely worse than those of New York, or of any other American city. But I could find no way to prove this to Egyptians who deplored American slums.

They new slums, Egyptian slums. Slums were slums to them. If they read what American congressmen or mayors said about American slums, the Egyptians

Americans were ing abroad are comp up under a kind of ranting about slums which were identical with slums they knew in Cairo. And inasmuch as these Americans made so much fuss about their slums, there must be enough of them to create a great public issue. They don't create any public issue in Egypt. They are taken for granted. Therefore, there must be more slums in America than in Egypt. Because of this, and in spite of America's wealth and power, maybe Americ... is not quite as civilized as Egypt, these Egyptians reason. At any rate, Americans travel-

THE HORIZON

Robeson Was Wrong When He Talked Through His Hat for Show in Paris

By P. L. PRATTIS

IN THE first place, Robeson was wrong. When he told hundreds of delegates to the World Congress of the Partisans of Peace in Paris that American Negroes would not fight in a war against Russia, he erred on several points. He did not know what he was talking about. He could not speak for American Negroes although he is one of them. But no considerable number of them had authorized him to make any such pledge for them.



Mr. Prattis

Even so, he would have been wrong to have made the statement if an organization of considerable proportions had so authorized him. He would have been wrong because, even if such a statement were true and representative, it would be stupid, so far as American Negroes are concerned, to make it publicly.

It seemed amazing to me, in the wake of the Peace Congress (which I attended as a reporter), that so much should have been made of Robeson's more or less off-the-cuff claim. At the time, I thought nothing much of it. It did not seem important. It certainly was not extraordinary if one considered the tenor and makeup of the conference. It couldn't have meaning under any circumstances.

* * *

THERE WAS A conference obviously arranged by Communist influence to serve as a tactical operation in the cold war with the West. You couldn't escape the conclusion that the Congress was the symbol of the "other side" in action. I had scarcely heard of the Congress, a month earlier, when I was in Rome. I visited the Soviet Embassy on another matter.

Man with whom I talked there seemed strangely interested in whether I was interested in the forthcoming Congress to be held in Paris. They were quite aware of it and did not conceal their interest in it.

So what? The Russians have much right to stage their so-called peace offensive in Paris as the Atlantic Pact nations have to have theirs there.

But the point is not exactly that. Rather, the point alludes to the fact that most of these hundreds of delegates came to Paris to sing the same song and dance the same dances. Their "line" was rigid.

My own opinion was that most of them were as "unrepresentative" as Robeson. But nearly all of them (Dubois was an exception) said quite deliberately the same things as Robeson. But only with him did the statement seem to have great significance later on.

I listened to many of the speakers. They all claimed to represent this or that large body of people, usually some named organization. They all lambasted the United States and its foreign policy vis a vis Russia. I certainly thought there was some good reason in their arguments. They all lavished praise upon Russia and refrained from criticizing her in any sense. To me, that was not thoroughly objective.

* * *

THE POINT THAT struck me most forcibly was that they all declared that groups which they represented would not join their countries in a war on Russia. That was the real theme of their song. Kitty Hookam, claiming to represent thirty million youth, vowed that youth would not fight again—against Russia. Konni Zilliacus, left-wing Labor member of Parliament, asserted that English labor would not follow the Labor Government into a war—against Russia.

Donald Henderson, head of the CIO Food and Cannery Workers Union, gave off that workers in the United States were waking up and that they would be prepared to oppose a war—against Russia.

Of course, a few weeks earlier, when the Atlantic Pact was being done to a nice brown, Communist leaders in Italy, France and England, had outspokenly adopted the line of asserting that the people would not fight a war—against Russia. This was all calculated to prove that the Atlantic Pact nations didn't have what they thought they had—fodder for Russian cannon.

* * *

SO, NO ONE should have been surprised at the litany sung at the Paris Congress. It was right down the line. The claim that this or that segment of the people would not fight against Russia didn't mean anything, regardless of who said it. It was supposed to scare somebody, but didn't even do that—except in the case of Robeson. No storm broke around the head of Zilliacus or Hookam or Henderson or the scores of others, including Shirley Graham, who said exactly the same thing.

That's the chief reason I think Robeson made a mistake. Even his critics know that he was talking through his hat and for show. But they are really not after Robeson. They are after Robeson's people. American Negroes are putting up a vigorous fight for their own rightful place in the sun—in the United States. It is a two-fisted struggle against stubborn opposition. If advantage can be taken of anything said or done by an outstanding Negro, the opposition will be alert to do so.

Paul said no more than all the rest. He knows that he was being purely rhetorical and speaking in the spirit of the occasion. But he should realize now what a great mistake he made because sharp advantage was taken of his "hurrah" speech, not only to cuff him over the head, but to raise the issue of the loyalty of his people as well.

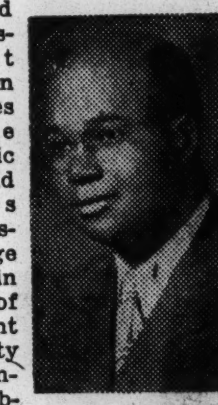
The great majority of American Negroes care nothing about communism, Russian or American style. They're slick and are not going to be caught in the middle. When push comes to shove they'll be found clinging to the bird in the hand regardless of the allurements of the hundreds in the bush.

THE HORIZON

U. S. Negro Athletes Could Whip Entire Middle East at Anything

By P. L. PRATTIS

WHEN Lieut. Ismael Helmy of the Tourist Branch of the Egyptian State Police asked me if I would like to go to a basketball game in Heliopolis, I said that I would because I felt surely that there would be some players in the games who looked like me. I had become accustomed to not seeing brown and dark faces behind the desks in public offices, behind the counters and cash registers in the large stores and in positions of management and authority in other commercial establishments. I saw that the pattern of employment was similar to that I know in the United States. But, in the field of sports, I was certain I would find that, in Egypt, brown and black boys came into their own.



Mr. Prattis

I was disappointed. Heliopolis is a very swanky suburb of Cairo. You have to have real money to live out there. The basketball game I went to see was the final in a tournament for the championship of Europe. There were actually two games. One was a curtain raiser between Lebanon and Turkey; the other, the final between Egypt and France. Of course, a number of European countries had been eliminated before the finals. However, in the finals for the championship of Europe, there was only one European team, France. Turkey is mostly in Asia. Lebanon is in Asia and Egypt is in Africa. Egypt won the tournament and became the champion of Europe, much to the delight of the Egyptians and to the discomfiture of the French—of whom there are many in Cairo.

MY DISAPPOINTMENT was due to the fact that I did not see a single brown or black face on the floor that night. You would expect the players from France, Turkey and Lebanon to be white. But what about Egypt? The streets of Egypt are full of brown and black people. What happens to them when it comes to showtheir country's wares? Your answer is as good as mine.

But let's not beef. From the standpoint of an American, the brand of basketball displayed by the Egyptians, who won, and by the other teams, was decidedly third-rate. There was not a single team I saw which could have stood up against a good YMCA quintet. They would have been far outclassed by our university teams. Our pros would make these "Europeans" think the game had been completely changed.

My point in this piece, however, is not to call attention to the presumed inferiority of the Egyptians, or anybody else, in playing the American game of basketball. What I thought about most in this connection when I was in the Middle East is the general lack of athletic prowess, knowledge and skill in those countries. As athletes, these people are sad specimens.

* * *

FROM TIME TO time I would thing of Joe Louis, of Jackie Robinson, of Jesse Owens, of Harrison Dillard, of Barney Ewell, of Ray Robinson, of Eyre Saitch, of "Fats" Jenkins, of Kenny Washington, and of scores and scores of other great Negro athletes, men who have excelled in a sports-conscious western world. As I thought, I was reminded of the stereotyped notions which some of these peoples in the Middle East might have about American Negroes. They see American Negro types in the movies. They read some books about the United States and learn of the Negro as an oppressed minority with inferior gifts. The chances are that they come to think of the American Negro as being somewhat below their own depressed classes. That is probably the reason they shy at being identified with the Negro.

But none of these peoples has a Joe Louis or a Harrison Dillard or a Herb Douglas. American Negroes could take on the entire Middle East, almost without practice, and beat any one or all of the nations combined, at anything in the sports line that they want to try. The only difficulties our boys might encounter might come from some of the fresh youngsters in the new state of Israel—if the other Middle Eastern countries would allow Israel to compete.

AS MUCH AS anything I can think of, I would enjoy seeing our boys having the chance to go to places like Greece, Italy, Turkey, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Transjordan, Arabia, Egypt, and other places to perform before other colored peoples in other parts of the world, he would certainly add stuff. How our boys would sock them to the esteem for American Negroes! How these peoples would be found to marvel at the magnificent physiques of that they are disease-ridden the young men of Negro America is the pauper of whom America is ashamed.

THE HORIZON

French Appear to Be More Prejudiced Against Algerians Than Against Black Africans

By P. L. PRATTIS

IN JUNE of this year, a column written by this writer about Algerians in Paris was published in this newspaper.

The column was written after spending Easter in the French capital and after noting that everybody else in the city participated in the celebration of this festival but the Algerians. The day was no holiday for them. They were up to their same old tricks of trying to make a living. In part, I wrote:



Mr. Prattis

"Paris has a population which, in many respects, reminds me of the Negro population at home. It is an alien, outcast population. It is a minority population. It is a poor and grasping population. It is a population which is largely jobless and which veers toward crime. It is the population of Africans, Negroes and Arabs, subjects from the French colonies. For the most part, they compose a tatterdemalion eyesore in Paris.

"Most of these colonials are future operators in the Paris black market. They are the ones, unkempt, dirty, who stand inside doorways or close to the sides of buildings awaiting the foreign victim. They want to change his money, at black market rates. They want to do something for him. They want to get something out of this foreigner. They are leeches and parasites and beggars.

• • •

"IT WAS THESE who had not gone away at Easter. It was these who failed to share the Easter spirit in Paris. It was these who, among all others, stood out on Easter Sunday, still plying their sordid trades. Because of their actions and their dirtiness, blacks and Arabs, they make up a class. They spell out something to the foreigner."

In line with the above is a recent dispatch to the New York Times which reads in part: "Paris is confronted with a serious social and economic problem largely the result of the heavy influx of North Africans.

"It is estimated that the Algerian population here approaches 100,000. Most of the newcomers represent the rock bottom of the Algerian social scale. Leading a miserable existence in their native towns, they had little to hold them there and they were easy prey to promises or their own imaginations of the vastly better life to be found in Paris.

• • •

"THE ARRIVAL AND subsequent stay in Paris have been a cruel awakening for the vast majority. The acute housing shortage here poses a different problem for the ordinary Frenchman. For the Algerians it has been all but insurmountable. Having little money and a tremendous amount of prejudice to fight against, they have been forced to crowd into hovels and rundshackle hotels in the poorest of the city.

"The Algerians have met the same difficulty finding jobs. Handicapped by inexperience, lack of education and the prejudice against them, they have experienced difficulty in finding even menial jobs and when they do they are automatically placed in the marginal category—last to be hired, first to be dismissed. The number of Algerians engaged in petty black market operations, such as money changing and selling of the small number of commodities still rationed, is a reflection of their inability to find gainful employment.

"The most serious result of the Algerian influx has been the notable rise in the crime rate.

• • •

"IN THE LAST few months 'mugging' incidents have become numerous and have been receiving headline attention in the press. The proportion of these crimes committed by Algerians is high—on some nights Algerians account for all street attacks reported—and is much above the per centage of Algerians in the general population."

The foregoing from the New York Times is reproduced because it supports this writer's original observations and directs attention again to the causes of prejudice.

It's to be noted that the French appear to be much more prejudiced against these mulatto Algerians than they are against black Africans. In fact they will deny prejudice against blacks and admit prejudice against Algerians. One is forced to wonder what the behavior of the French would be if 10 per cent of the population of metropolitan France were Algerians. How would the attitude of the French toward the Algerians differ from the attitude of white Americans toward American Negroes?

• • •

THE ALGERIANS presently in France are in the identical position of Negroes who emigrated from South to North during and in the wake of the last two wars. They invade settled communities, become competitors for jobs, have distinguishable and different traits, features, characteristics, and can be set off as a sort of despised class.

Because we are colored (dark), we conclude that color is the basic cause of all this. But in the case of the Algerians, this could only be partly true. They are mulatto and white, not too distinguishable from many Frenchmen. But they are demanding a share of something the Frenchman doesn't want to share with them.

The Frenchman therefore picks out whatever he can to set them off as a class (dirtiness, unhealthiness, crime, etc.) and treats them exactly as many Negroes are treated in the United States. 'Tis indeed a queer world.

"I am convinced myself that there is no more evil thing in this present world than race prejudice. None at all. I write deliberately. It is the worst single thing in life now. It justifies and holds together more baseness, cruelty and abomination than any other sort of error in the world."—H. G. WELLS.

THE HORIZON

The Roman Catholic Church Seems Destined to Become A New Force of Power

By P. L. PRATTIS

THE Roman Catholic Church seems destined to become a new force of almost incalculable power in race relations. To denote current and future action of the church as a new force is not meant to imply that the church, as a unit, or through its ecclesiastical hierarchy, has ever been completely indifferent to race and color discrimination.



Mr. Prattis

That would not be true. But it does appear to be true that in recent years, the leaders of the church have adopted a positive, progressive attitude. They are trying to do something about racial discrimination which affects them. They are succeeding.

Recently, The Courier published an editorial entitled "A Catholic Challenge." The editorial was a comment upon the action of the Catholic Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel, in New Orleans, who cancelled the annual observance of holy hour because the local park commissioners insisted on racial segregation.

In the same editorial, it was recalled that the Archbishop in St. Louis had acted to open the parochial schools in that city to Negroes.

• • •

THESE ACTIONS LED The Courier editorial writer to conclude "that the Catholic hierarchy in the United States is determined to stand pat on equal treatment for all of its members whether North or South."

What has been one of the effects of that editorial, an effect which leads this writer to believe that the Catholic Church is destined to become a future strong force in race relations?

George W. Westerman, the erudite and ever-active associate editor of the Panama Tribune, believes the people of the Republic of Panama have been greatly helped by the chain of action begun in St. Louis and New Orleans and pointed up in The Courier. In a recent letter, he informs us:

"In our issue of Oct. 30, we reproduced a Courier editorial, 'A Catholic Challenge.' The result was electrifying as a few days subsequently we received from the Papal Charge d'Affairs in Panama a pronouncement as to the position of the Catholic Church on the Isthmus regarding discrimination in any respect.

• • •

"THE NEW POLICY as enunciated by Mgr. Dr. Paul Bernier is one of transcendental importance to this country which . . . is predominantly Roman Catholic. We feel sure you will be pleased to know how far-reaching has been the effect of your editorial columns."

Mr. Westerman was also kind enough to send us a copy of the letter and pronouncement sent to the Panama Tribune by the Papal Charge d'Affairs from the Nunciatura Apostolica. Monsignor Bernier wrote:

"I read with deep interest the editorial comment, reprinted from The Pittsburgh Courier, you published in the Oct. 30 issue of your influential paper, the Panama Tribune. And I warmly congratulate you for the same.

"I wish to welcome the opportunity to assert most emphatically that it is the essential concern of the Catholic Church that the various ethnic elements that form the Republic of Panama and particularly the Panama Canal Zone live and thrive together in perfect harmony, mutual respect and understanding being the most constructive way to achieve social peace and true Christian prosperity.

• • •

"INDEED THE contribution of Negroes to the construction and maintenance of the Inter-oceanic Canal and to the economic welfare of the Isthmus has been of no mean significance. And there should be no discrimination whatsoever, in our private or public institutions, against a race which has given so ample evidence of its will and ability to provide the country with honest and laborious citizens, and with progressive and conscientious leaders as well.

"May I add that I shall do my utmost to help make available to the energetic youth of West Indian origin the facilities of primary and secondary education, convinced as I am that the school is the best environment to forge and to mingle, in an atmosphere free from pride and prejudice, all the future leaders, religious and civil alike of the community."

• • •

THIS LETTER FROM Monsignor Bernier places the Catholic Church in the Republic of Panama and in the Isthmus squarely against racial discrimination. Individual Catholics and individual Catholic agencies may continue to show prejudice, but the power and might of the church will eventually catch up with them.

Progress in understanding and cooperation in Panama is bound to be accelerated by the position taken by the church.

Although I am a Protestant, I am compelled to concede that racial discrimination in so-called Catholic countries has never been as vicious as in some Protestant countries. If all men are a part of the mystical body of Christ, then the true Catholic must realize that he cannot mistreat his fellowman without abusing both himself in God. More and more Catholics seem to be sensing that fact.

Negro (P.L. Prattis)

SEVENTEEN DAYS In Independent India

By P. L. PRATTIS Courier Executive Editor

Day—June 9, 1949

DELHI, India—Furtively days pass by and are gone, the heat. No rain, no stirring of wind, just heat. 105 degrees.

one must press on. I do. to be a busy day. I carry to learn that my one good temporary escape from the heat is failing me—the water. After all these days, the water fails. No water to shave, to bathe, to wash one's face. It must be brought in in buckets. You begin to realize what water means to these people. Somehow, I get ready for breakfast, among other things, lichee nuts. They are



Prattis

delicious. I seek to mail letters at the post office. But no luck. This is a holiday of the English king for Indians, though free, declared a holiday. The government offices are closed. The Constituent Assembly, despite protests of some members, is to observe the birthday of the faraway English king. Some of my friends tell me this is the last time.

10-15-49

I go to my hotel to await "Kamaladevi." She sends car for me. I meet her at office of Indian Union. Call from home of Mrs. Renuka Ray, a lovely, round-faced dark woman of all the world exactly like a million American Negro women I have seen. Mrs. Ray has just returned from the States. She is one of India's delegates to United Nations. While there she visited with the Stuart Mudds at Howard University. Interesting story of what happened at Lake Success, of the indignity heaped and taken by a Haitian delegate over Ethiopia's puzzling position.

TO TALK

There is not the time for a long talk with Mrs. Ray. We try to arrange to meet later. She wants to talk with me and I want to talk with her. From Mrs. Ray's to the studio of an Indian woman artist whose name escapes me. She is an intelligent, sensitive woman with a lot of soul. Has studied extensively abroad. Seems comfortably at home with all the moderns. Leans toward abstract work of Matisse. Talks a lot of synthesis and that kind of stuff and of the differences between oriental and western art.

Then to the home of Mrs. Nita Sen, sister of Mrs. Ray and wife of one of New Delhi's leading doctors. She is going to take "Kamaladevi" and me on a shopping tour, to show us what is in the Indian shops, what is Indian and what is not. Surprising how the Indian way of doing things has been imposed upon by English, French. But Indian products continue to retain their character. Have you ever gone on a shopping tour with the temperature above a hundred? After tour, Mrs. Sen, young, vivacious, is returned to her home, "Kamaladevi" to her office. I return to hotel.

* * *

Lunch, and long siesta. No water. At four I arise and prepare to attend meeting at Constitution House. There India's delegates to United Nations are to report to Indian Council on World Affairs upon what took place this last time at Lake Success. The delegates were: M. C. Setalvad, a lawyer, chairman of the delegation; Mrs. Ray, mentioned above, and Shiva Rao. A crowd, despite the heat, packs the large chamber in which the reports of the delegates are made. The reports are long and detailed. Of them, I hope to tell you more later. But some points must be mentioned.

COLONIES DISCUSSED

The chief actions described by these delegates were those having to do with the Union of South Africa and the disposition of the former colonies. Before describing the work of the Indian delegation, Mr. Setalvad stated that India had refrained from joining any of the blocs which operate at Lake Success, and had tried to deal with each issue on its merits. This method had won respect for Indian delegation, but had not brought strength to Indians when they were pushing for something in which they were interested.

The fight over the Italian colonies was highlighted by one-sided action of Latin-American bloc who wanted colonies returned to Italy so that they might have the benefit of Italian culture under modern, democratic Italy, and by the heroic, determined plea of Emile St. Lot, the Haitian delegate. All the Indian delegates paid warm tribute to this noble Haitian, both for his defense of the interests of the populations in the former Italian colonies and for his presentation of the cause of the Indians and natives in South Africa.

ST. LOT IS HAILED

Even though St. Lot had opposed the Latin-Americans on the Italian colonies, they swarmed around him to congratulate him after he had blasted racial discrimination in South Africa. "You said just what we wanted to say," they told him.

* * *

The tiny republic of Haiti has new meaning in India today as a result. Mr. Setalvad, telling of St. Lot's exploits, even found it necessary to go into some detail to locate Haiti for his audience, but I doubt that will ever be necessary again.

These Indians emphasized how St. Lot had evaded instructions from his government to follow the line of the United States. He followed his own conscience.

The Indian delegation was forced to retreat on the South African issue. Mr. Shiva Rao, directing attention to the fact, asserted that "there has been a serious decline in the moral sensibilities of the United Nations." He declared that there is not the same sense of revulsion against wrong, especially if that wrong has been perpetrated against a weak people.

SMUTS CONDEMNED

In respect to Africa, he declared that many dark things had happened there, much worse than in Asia. He expressed the opinion that the conflict between races can be regarded as the most likely cause of another war and he condemned the position taken by Jan Smuts in London when he warned Europe of the peril it faces from Asia.

* * *

The reports of all these delegates were complete, concise, clear.

From the Constitution House, I have my driver take me miles to the Gymkhana Club, that dreamlike garden spot where I am to meet a Mr. Bhardevaj of the Ministry of Information, Mr. Sharma, also of the same ministry, and the editor of the Hindustan Times.

We spent a lovely evening together. There are several rounds of drinks to start with, mine being mostly lemon squash. Then, still while drinking, tiny meat balls and French fried potatoes are placed before us. These are to be dipped in tomato sauce and eaten. Later, there is dinner, the piece de resistance being fried chicken. We talk at length about many things, but more of that will come out later. To home and bed.



Acetylene — Indian industry is on the march! This welder works on an automobile body on an Indian assembly line. The Indian Government is seeking to increase its industrial potential through workers such as these.

On 15,000-Mile Journey

Prattis in Cairo; Finds City 'Great'

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. P-4-49

EDITOR'S NOTE: P. L. Prattis, Courier executive editor, this week begins a series of articles written during a planned 15,000-mile tour of the Middle East. His series on Egypt will attempt to explore the social customs of this oldest of civilizations and diverse peoples, and whether or not they have color problems similar to those in the United States.

31c / Negro

By P. L. PRATTIS
(Courier Executive Editor)
(First in a Series)

CAIRO, Egypt—To start the second leg in this 15,000-mile journey through the Middle East, I went to the huge, modern and imposing headquarters station of the British Overseas Airways Corporation on Buckingham Palace Road in London.

This was for a check-up (weighing) of my baggage and registration of my flight to Cairo. Quickly done with, I waited for three-quarters of an hour for an autobus which was to take us all to the Heston airport. We left the air-station at six-forty-five in the evening, Rome the first stop.

As we taxied on, one of the stewardesses confronted us from the front of the plane and showed us a latch in the ceiling. If that is pulled down, she said, it will bring a ladder with it. By mounting this ladder passengers can escape from the plane in an emergency. They can use the side doors, if they are opened. With this gentle reminder she left us.

Our flight over Southern England gave us an inspiring view of what man can do to make nature look beautiful. This was true also of the huge country of France, where the hedge rows, which were such a comfort to Allied soldiers, seem to make God's little gardens from the miles up. 6-4-49-Lh.

We passed Le Havre and I could see that much had been done to repair the harbor and docks since the war ended in 1945. From Le Havre we flew south at 8,000 feet and 210 miles an hour, flying over the Loire valley and the Massif Centrale to Marseilles. No stop was made at Marseilles.

We flew southeast of the Riviera, over the northern tip of Corsica, Italy. We circled this field twice before landing at five minutes past six. The flight had taken five hours. It seemed six because time was ahead one hour.

THE HORIZON

By P. L. PRATTIS

THE DAY was Easter Sunday. The city was Paris, queen of beauty and of taste. The sun shone beautifully out of a clear, blue sky. The trees were covered with green. Blossoms scented the air. Two million inhabitants had deserted Paris "pour la fete de Paques." But there were other millions left to enjoy at their leisure the city's magnificent parks and boulevards, its sidewalk restaurants, its worship. The spirit of the holiday was in the air. For seventy-two hours, there would be little work. Drudgery would be postponed, the people would enjoy themselves.



Mr. Prattis

I write "the people." But I do not mean all of them. I walked for hours in the streets and boulevards of Paris on that Easter Sunday to see what I could see. I saw the beauty, the gaiety, the tolerance, the savoir-faire. I saw a people who, for the nonce, had put care behind them.

But what has remained to me out of the peregrinations of that day is not a sense of beauty, of happiness, of freedom from care. Cutting into me deeply is another impression, a contrasting impression. This impression was not made by the people of Paris. It was made by the people, some of the people, who are not of Paris.

I REFER TO those who belong and yet do not belong. Paris has a population which, in many respects, reminds me of the Negro population at home. It is an alien, outcast population. It is a minority population. It is a poor and grasping population. It is a population which is largely jobless and which veers toward crime. It is the population of Africans, Negroes and Arabs, subjects from the French colonies. For the most part, they compose a tatterdemalion eyesore in Paris. Pittsburgh Pa.

Most of these colonials are furtive operators in the Paris black market. They are the ones, unkempt, dirty, who stand inside doorways or close to the sides of buildings awaiting the foreign victim. They want to change his money, at black market rates. They want to do something for him. They want to get something out of this foreigner. They are leeches and parasites and beggars.

It was these who had not gone away at Easter. It was these who failed to share the Easter spirit in Paris. It was these who, among all others, stood out on Easter Sunday, still plying their sordid trade. Because of their color and their dirtiness, blacks and Arabs, they make up a class. They spell out something to the foreigner.

* * *

I AM NOT blaming them nor even criticizing them. They annoy you no end, it's true. But you begin to wonder about them—as I did. Why are they the ones, principally, in this kind of racketeering? Why do you find so few Frenchmen and so many of these colonials?

I cornered two of them. I pointed to their color and my color, to their hair and my hair. They were Arabs, but we were most alike. I wanted to know why they were in that kind of business, why most of the men I found tugging and pulling at pedestrians were like them. I told them how bad it looked, what kind of an impression it gave others. The significance of my questions was not lost on them. They replied seriously.

They informed me that although they are French subjects, they find it most difficult to obtain regular jobs in Paris. I asked why, then, they did not go to Algeria and work. They said that the French, the white French, have the best jobs there, too. The point is that at home and abroad, the white Frenchman has spread out to get the jobs. In this competition for jobs, the subject population is the one to suffer.

Sat. 6-11-49

SO FAR AS the French are concerned, I do not believe a racial or color prejudice is at work. It is simply a question of these people being different and subject. In France, the jobs are for the members of the family. In the colonies, the jobs are for the families of the ruling class.

What has happened to these Arabs and Negroes is what I believe happens to any subject population, distinguishable by color or habits, which lives besides a rooted-in majority population. It is compelled to live on the fringes. Its existence must be desperate.

In the United States, Negroes are the victims of the same kind of pressures which operate against these Algerians in Paris, the only difference being that there is a little bit of hatred mixed in in the States.

* * *

IF YOU ARE not careful, you will develop a feeling of contempt for these Arabs and Negroes in Paris. But before you do so, if you are an American Negro, you had better ask yourself how you appear to the average foreigner who visits the States. There, he finds you in a comparable position. The French say the little Arabs steal and are dirty.

That's what the Americans will tell the foreign visitor about us. And when the foreigner observes the slums in which some of us live and the manner of our existence, rackets and otherwise, he'll conclude that such things reflect our nature and our character—if he isn't thoughtful.

We are no more to blame than the Arabs. We are both caught in a complex vise.

French Colonials Victims Of Same Economic Pressures Applied to Negroes in U. S.

PRATTIS Courier
By P. L. PRATTIS

Unity of Jews Under Pressure Should Be Lesson to Negroes

Pittsburgh Courier
3-5-49
B1a

Horace Cayton, whose column regularly appears on this page, is ill.

* * *

PERHAPS the long experience of Jews with persecution has developed among them a sort of spontaneous likemindedness and stimulus to action where their welfare is concerned. They don't have to build up steam for action that has real impact.

WHEN GERMANS REALIZE that they have nothing really in common with the white man and his democracy or that they will choose instead of communism.

* * *

The European who reads American propaganda is bewildered when he sees some Americans in action. The distance which is officially maintained between whites and blacks in uniform in Europe and the consequent distrust and hostility which prevails between the two types of Americans are constant reminders to Europeans, particularly to Germans, that there must be something lacking in this democracy abroad, is which it is hoped that they will embrace in the place of nazism

Sight of White Americans Dosing Europeans With Democracy Is Ludicrous

Mr Prattis

THE HORIZON
By P. L. PRATTIS
Courier

THERE are some signs of democracy of their white fellow on these days with so countrymen. called democracy at the These Negroes foreign in Europe or elsewhere, would laugh regard wryly the kind of democracy they have left behind and the sales talks for democ-

but out loud for the fact that the spectacle of white Americans dosing

their hearts against other people because of their color and that many white Americans hate their fellow Americans because of their color, they wonder why any American should have been angry with Hitler.

Recently, a rather interesting phenomenon took place. While a group of more than one hundred Germans were being brought to the United States to be taught democracy at first hand, a half-dozen Mississippians must have passed them on the way to Germany. The Mississippians were said to be interested in importing German workers to their State. Of course, these were white Mississippians.

One can be excused from speculating upon just how much democracy these Germans who are brought to the States are going to learn. They will certainly not see democracy in action. They may learn that they have greater opportunities in the United States because they are white. But if they were black Germans, they would quickly discover there was precious little democracy for them west or south of New York.

• • •

AS A MATTER of fact, neither these Germans nor the American public is being kidded. The Germans are not being imported to learn (democracy or anything else). They are being brought and they have been brought to the States in large numbers so that Americans can learn their skills.

For three years now, Americans have been engaged in snatching Germans away from their homeland, bringing them to the States, and requiring the Germans to tell the Americans how they did certain things. I am not against this. I think we should learn all we can from these Nordics and that there is much we can learn.

But I do take exception to the hyprocisy with which the action is covered. The Russians do some of the same kind of thing. But when they do, our newspapers tell the story for what it is and the Russians are made to seem rather terrible. Our papers do not tell that we have been beating the Russians at the game of stealing brains, that in many instances all the Russians could take was what we had left.

• • •

THE MISSISSIPPIANS ARE not fooling themselves. They have all the labor they need in their State. But they could use a little German know-how. Furthermore, they are not averse to sampling and testing the German brand of race superiority feeling. They probably think they can take some of these Germans straight to the mansion of Governor Fielding Wright and make them feel at home. Maybe they can. I don't know. But I have my doubts.

I suspect that the superior feeling the Germans have not only makes them feel they are better than Negroes (not because of their color), but are better than white Mississippians also. The chances are that if these Dixiecrats import too many Germans, they may find these erstwhile Nazis owning most of Mississippi in the next generation and using the black peons to keep the present owners in hand. The Germans may teach more about democracy than they are taught.

THE HORIZON

Egyptians Don't Consider Themselves White Because White Civilization Is Decadent

By P. L. PRATTIS

SHORTLY after I had boarded the Queen Mary for Europe in January, I noticed that I was being furtively observed by a group of three East Indians. I hadn't the slightest idea what was on their minds. But on the third day out, one of them came up to my table in the restaurant and inquired: "Are you an Indian, sir?" "No," I replied, "I'm a Negro." Neither of us was abashed. We passed a few pleasantries and the Indian left.



Mr. Prattis

That was the first time, so far as I know, that any question had ever been raised as to my race or nationality. It had never occurred to me that I might be mistaken for anything other than a Negro.

However, that must be because of the insulated life we lead in the United States, although we are apt to think our country sets the pattern for the entire world. In France and Germany and Italy, the conclusion most often drawn by curious persons is that I am an Indian. Sometimes in Italy, but always in Greece and Palestine, I was taken for an Egyptian. Which brings me to the point of this piece.

• • •

WHILE IN NAPLES, I was approached by an olive-complexioned man who might have been either Italian or Greek and asked very courteously what my nationality was. I replied that I was an American—which meant that I was an American Negro. "What's yours?" I asked my interrogator. "Egyptian," he replied. After that, we spent the most of two days together.

I wish I could tell you all I learned from this Egyptian who, incidentally, is half Turk. He knew all about the race problem in the United States. He questioned me closely and intelligently about the recent United States election and the Dixiecrats. He told me that the Egyptian newspapers always carried articles about racial disturbances and injustices in the United States.

All this did not come out at first. We had to feel each other out. The man looked white to me and I took him for white. I was not going to take him into my confidence until I knew how he ticked.

• • •

HE CONFESSED FIRST. He said that when he first saw me, he thought that I must be his brother; that is, related to him in outlook. Before he met me, he acknowledged, he felt a certain sympathy and understanding. There were many people in the group of which we were a part, all white, but he chose me for a companion.

Let's see if I can tell you why. This man is proud of Egypt, not its past, but its present. When I mentioned Egypt's early civilization, he waved his hand as if to dismiss that, and observed that Egypt is a civilized country and prepared to make its contribution to world progress.

I agreed and said that because of its past and its present potentialities, white scholars in the United States were always trying to claim the Egyptians as a white people.

• • •

"YOU KNOW," I went on, "they justify their exploitation of colored peoples by saying that they are inferior. They can't say the Egyptians are inferior, so they insist that they are white."

"Yes, I know they do," agreed this Egyptian. "But we are not white and we don't want to be white."

"Why?" I demanded quickly.

"Because the whites represent a decadent civilization, they are slipping back," he answered.

• • •

I WISH I COULD impress you with the utter sincerity of this man as he said that. He was not kidding. He is a well-educated man who speaks four languages fluently.

Then he went on to tell me of the significant role which he believes the Near and the Middle East are shortly going to play in world affairs, particularly with the cooperation of Pakistan. He is looking for a resurgence among colored peoples.

That, I suppose, is the reason he showed such a profound interest in American Negroes. Repeatedly, he asserted that Negroes and Egyptians were alike in color and that some of the darkest Egyptians held some of the highest positions in the government and army. He insisted that I should permit him to send photographs of some of these dark Egyptians. He seemed to think it strange that American Negroes had not done more to establish contact with Egyptian representatives in the United States. I told him that American Negroes often held back because there were some colored representatives in the States who eschewed association with American Negroes for fear that they would be classified with them and treated as they are treated. This Egyptian expressed the hope that we would not continue to ignore the Egyptians.

Maybe all this doesn't seem as strange to you as it does to me. I had never expected to encounter a fair-skinned Egyptian who was more color conscious than I. Maybe we should do more to cultivate acquaintance with such people. They have a vote in the United Nations, you know.

Negro(P.L. Prattis)



By MARTHA STARK

My 13 Years Under The Nazi Terror

See: 18d Germany

Nazi Apologizes to Martha

Pittsburgh Courier

AS TOLD TO

P. L. PRATTIS

Executive Editor, Pittsburgh Courier

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Installment Five

Excitement prevailed from the beginning when the party really took over in Germany in 1932. There much more than a political change. The social and nomic structure of the nation was visibly and violently fected. Sat. 6-4-49

verybody who worked for the of Nurnberg, or who had a job, had to show his, or her, certificate. The authorities ld then have the family line of individual traced back through generations in order to find there was a Jewish or any type of "nichtarisch" ances-

der the term "nichtarisch" they uded the following peoples: Armenians, Negroes, Gypsies, ese and Chinese. Arabs and Indians were considered "ar- or Aryans. They called them arlier." 6-4-49

mplexion, or skin color, was really decisive factor in de- ning these classifications. The worked on a sort of purity ial blood theory.

error seized the people through- Nurnberg. Jews were hunted and picked up at night. There many Germans who sympa- with the plight of these Jews they were afraid to protest.

Nazis used big black lim- es for these pick-up jobs. They manned by guards from the eimpolizei," or the Gestapo, as was popularly known. These were powerful enough to over- the resistance of any indi- without trouble. We watched our window when the night- limousine drew up to the of our neighbor and saw the drag him away. A week wife received his wedding a note. The note cruelly her that she could marry if she wished.

I shall always remember the day when I received my first impression as to the kind of men chosen to supervise these concentration camps. In my neighborhood there were two sons in a good family. One of these brothers was of excellent character. When he grew up he obtained a good job and was on the way to making something of himself when the Nazis came. But the other brother, whose name was Heinz, was from the beginning the black sheep, even though the darling of the family. He was expelled from high school. His father gave him a job in his business, but Heinz proceeded to steal 25,000 marks from his own father. Then a friend of his father gave him a job. Heinz also stole from this friend. He acted as though he were born to be a thief.

When the Nazis took over Heinz had left Nurnberg and I had forgotten all about him. One day I was standing at a street car station when somebody slapped me on the shoulder from behind and exclaimed, "Hi, Martha, I'm glad to see you after such a long time!"

I turned around and found myself standing in front of a strikingly uniformed SS man. The silver stripes and the silver braids he wore on his uniform told me that he was a high-ranking SS officer. This man was Heinz. He smiled at my bewilderment and surprise and then told me that he had finally made it, that he was one of the leaders in the concentration camp at Dachau. 6-4-49

One afternoon I had gone to the city pool to swim as I was in the habit of doing in the winter time. I met there an old friend of mine, Walter Stein. Walter's father was director of art for the city of Nurnberg but his mother was Jewish.

We had scarcely started to swim before four men swam to the point where we were and forced Walter to leave the pool. They told him that he must get out right away, that he was a half Jew and that he had no business being there. Walter started to argue, but these men pushed and shoved him to his locker and compelled him to leave the building.

When Walter climbed out of the pool I followed him. As he and the men argued, I stood aside, speechless. After they had forced him out of the building I dove into the pool again to continue my exercise. 6-4-49

Barely had I hit the water before an elderly man swam up to my side and insisted that I should get out too. He said: "That dirty Jew has left. What about you? Your father was a 'n—r' and you are a bastard. We have no place any more for people like you."

From the manner of his speech I could discern that he was a very low-class man. I retorted: "All right, I'll get out of the pool. But you must go to the lifeguard with me and explain who you are to be ordering people around."

To my great surprise two of the men who had chased Walter out of the pool jumped in and grabbed this man who had molested me. Finally, the others in the crowd turned against him and some of the men said, "Let's drown this son-of-a gun."

They told me that his name was Meixner and that he was a Nazi big shot from the Brown House in Nurnberg. They also told me to come to the pool as often as I wanted, that they had known me since I was a baby.

When I went home that day I locked myself in my room and wrote a long letter to Julius Streicher. I tried to appeal to his ideals as a National Socialist. Also, I told him that in my opinion men like Meixner made the entire party look bad. 6-4-49

Eight days later my mother came to my room. She was excited all over and shaking with fear. She had an envelope in her hand which she told me contained an order for me to come to the Brown House the next morning at 9 o'clock.

As a result, I told her about the episode with Meixner in the swimming pool and about my letter to Streicher. My stepfather was likewise upset about all this and he told me that I was playing with my life. He informed me that he would not let me go to the headquarters by myself. I didn't want him to accompany me, but I could not restrain him.

The Brown House was quite an imposing structure. A man attired in a brown uniform led us upstairs to a large, luxuriously furnished room. A dozen or more men, all in brown uniforms, were in this room. They looked at us, and especially at me, when we came in.

The men who entered and whom they saluted was Brigadefuhrer Herzog, right-hand man to Julius Streicher. He asked me if I were the Martha Dannhorn who had written the letter to Streicher. He turned to his men and told them to bring Meixner in. While waiting, he asked me some questions about my schooling and my life in general. 6-4-49

When Meixner arrived Herzog forced him to tell his story. Meixner started again to get nasty about me, but Herzog immediately ordered him to stop and called him a fool in front of all of his fellows. He then ordered Meixner to apologize to me. Meixner was compelled to say that he was sorry. We were then told that we might go.

On the same afternoon that Meixner accosted me in the swimming pool I met a young man. He asked me if he could take me home. He always seemed to be a head taller than anybody else in any group in which he might be. We met several times after he took me home and we took a deep liking to each other. One afternoon he picked me up at school. He was a lieutenant in the infantry.

He and I spent many happy afternoons together. We frequented the cafes on side streets where there were not many people and would while away the hours enjoying our love for each other. I was afraid to tell my parents about my new friend. One of the reasons was because he wore a uniform. The Nazis and their uniforms had spread so much fear that my parents hated everybody in a uniform. But I did tell my old friend, Dr. Seidelmann, who was with me when I first saw Streicher, about my new love. He arranged things so that we had more time to be together.

ROGERS SAYS:

Idiotic Arguments Over Race Question Are Like Old-Time Religious Debates

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

EVERY once in a while it strikes me like a ton of bricks how idiotic, utterly wasteful and unnecessary is this race question which so many spend so much time fighting. What loss of time, energy, nerve-force, tranquility! I have never ceased to think my own time in it could be put to better use even though if I had to start all over again, I'd probably do the same thing.



Mr. Rogers

The senselessness of the race question in all its fullness was brought to me on my first visit to Europe. I had just left America with its lynchings, race riots, jim crow, tensions, and here in the very home of the "white race," what did I find? That the terrific mountain of "race" had shrunk down to less than a mouse in size.

I thought of how Thurston, the magician, used to bring an elephant on the stage, wave a wand, and presto, the huge beast disappeared. These Europeans, who were as white as Americans, or whiter, ignored my color and that of other Negroes completely.

* * *

FRANKLY, WHAT irritates me most is the wrangling which reminds of one of those old-time religious arguments. The recent furor over whether Negroes would fight for America is a conspicuous example. That question, to my thinking, didn't deserve the slightest notice from the start. But it was fine meat for the publicity hounds.

Result, the whole nation seemed so stirred by it that you couldn't hear anything else. Millions of words were poured on it. Great leaders (great in that most of them grate on your nerves) rushed to the rescue. And now, what has been settled? Just about nothing. Will the Negroes fight or won't they — in a war that might never come? I took part in that discussion myself and it's going to be long before I'll forgive myself for doing so.

Right here, I can't resist the temptation to add that in the next war Negroes are likely to fight on both sides as they have been doing in the Latin-American revolutions. Unless America quits throwing her substance and money like a drunken sailor over the world the next war might be right here at home. What has happened, and is happening in the other republics of the New World, could happen here.

* * *

HOWEVER IDIOTIC THE race question might be, it must be fought though. One cannot lay down arms until the enemy does. What I am pleading for, therefore, is more light and less heat. What a transformation, what a peace it would bring to this old world if we could get down to facts and use them as a watchmaker uses his parts to make a timepiece.

How much more understanding, kindly and forgiving it would make us to our fellowmen! In my youth, when I couldn't help myself, I was fed, like the youth of today, on prejudices and superstitions. Luckily, I got out of that environment and by travel, reading, observing of peoples of so-called different races, the oneness of humanity was borne in on me and I saw what my elders had handed me.

I started tossing those falsehoods out of my brain, and am still doing so. If myself of today and myself of thirty years or so years ago could ever meet, what a clash we would have!

* * *

INSTEAD OF NEGROES wasting their time and energy over barren arguments like the one I mentioned, what if they learn the facts of their past and their present and be able to use them in cogent presentations to enlighten themselves and the whites? They badly need it. The only thing keeping back the Negro today is how he views himself and is viewed by the whites.

Through centuries of propaganda he has an undeservedly bad name. Though he is neither better nor worse than the whites, he's the national scapegoat. Here's an instance that could be mutiplied ad infinitum. Two weeks ago in San Francisco a white 7-year-old boy, Ted Moreno, went into a grocery, picked up a revolver there and shot the owner dead. Questioned about it he said, "A Negro did it!"

Last week, too, I was talking with a number of white ministers and educators from the Deep South, earnestly engaged in the fight against jim crow and they told me what they were up against with their congregations and the politicians.

* * *

THE POLITICIANS, ONE said, have wrapped up civil rights and communism together, and it's no us denying they're different. Rankin of Mississippi gave a sample of that last week. He voted against the anti-poll tax saying the bill was "the Communist line." That, of course, would make the forty-one states with no poll tax, as well as the President, Communist. Does Rankin see that? He can't help it. But it gets him votes.

haps any other land, but will it last? If America continues to support so many bankrupt and impoverished nations she'll eventually become one herself and fall an inevitable prey to some form of totalitarianism. In such a case my prediction is that she'll first be Fascist and probably Communist next.

* * *

I CAN'T GET it out of my head that the present Communist trial in New York savors greatly of the Negro-Catholic bugaboo of 1741. I see it as a smoke-screen for fascism.

I lived in Chicago when the American Communist party was formed and the same year (1919) I attacked communism in my "As Nature Leads." I was greatly shocked by the murder of the Czar and his family.

I attacked it again in the fifth edition of "From Superman to Man." I said that while I appreciated its bold stand against jim crow, I wouldn't want to live under it. I have done the same in this column. And I feel the same now. I know this though: The Communists are not the only extremist group in this nation and that if they were only anti-Negro, they would go scot-free like the anti-Negro extremist groups.

ROGERS SAYS:

As Long as the Communists Attack Negroes' Grievances They'll Have Sympathizers

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

HUMAN nature remains much the same through the ages. Its loves, hates, prejudices, fears are no more intelligent directed in 1949 than they were in 49 A.D. Thus, turning back the pages of history will help to guide those of us capable of clear thinking.

For what I wish to bring out let's go back some-what. The year is 1741; the scene, New York City. Catholics were then oppressed there as indeed they were in nearly all the colonies. Their religion was declared "an incendiary and disturber of the peace and safety and . . . of the true Christian religion." Penalty for performing any rites of that church was 'perpetual imprisonment'." Any Catholic who returned to New York after being banished from it was hanged.

Negroes were being oppressed also. The English, who had captured the city from the Dutch in 1664, were most brutal to Negroes, confiscating their lands, etc. Catholics and Negroes finding something in common got together. This led to the belief that both were plotting to seize the city. Negroes were then a bond somewhere. H. Aptheker in 'To Be Free: Studies in American History," and other works gives several instances of oppressed American whites and Negroes uniting.

* * *

AS IT HAD happened twenty-nine years before (April 1712) there was a Negro revolt in the city in which nine whites were killed, many wounded, and several buildings burnt; therefore, in 1741 when a white servant-girl, Mary Burton, who had been consorting with Negroes, "revealed," a Catholic-Negro "plot," the city lost its head and arrested whites and Negroes wholesale. After a "trial" four whites were hanged; eleven Negroes burnt alive; and fifty Negroes sold into slavery in the West Indies.



Mr. Rogers

Some of the Negroes, being Catholics, held crucifixes before them as they were being devoured by the flames. Horsmanden, a writer of that time, tells this in his "Conspiracy Formed by Some White People with Negro and Other Slaves," 1742. (A later edition is called "The New York Conspiracy"). But was there a plot? Later historians have found none, whatever.

Several morals can be drawn from the above. I shall mention only two. First, in the then friendship between Catholic and Negro we see again the universal truth that oppressed peoples, regard-

INDIANS FIGHTING THE whites welcomed Negroes, married them to their daughters and made them chiefs. When Northern whites invaded the South in the 1860's, Negroes so swarmed to them one writer said, they were like ants into whose nest a stick had been poked. Thus, my moral here is that that as long as the Communists attack militantly the grievances of the Negroes, numbers of the latter as well as of those whites who sincerely oppose injustice, are going to sympathize with the Communist cause.

My second moral leads me to compare the present furor over communism with the Negro-Catholic panic of 1741. Looking at it from every angle I can't see any immediate danger of communism for this nation. The simple truth is that the spirit of the American people inclines far more to fascism than to communism.

For the 70,000 or so Communists there are at least 70,000,000 potential fascists. The South is already largely fascistic. Of course, there is much more freedom here than in Russia, or per-

ROGERS SAYS:

West Indian Peasants Are Still Eating Those Imported Salted Codfish

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

I AM getting a lot of solid, up-to-date information on the West Indies from George S. Schuyler's fine articles in The Courier. It's a long time since I've been in that part of the world, but I see economic conditions have not changed.



Mr. Rogers

The principal protein diet of the peasantry is still unnutritious imported salted codfish. Lloyd George, once Prime Minister, said the British West Indies was a slum in America's backyard. This is true so far as the poor of the islands are concerned. And most of the islanders are very poor even as compared with the American Negro.

Certain of the islands, such as Barbados, are over-populated. Barbados has the densest population in the world. Work, outside the islands, is the only hope of surplus labor. The buliding of the Panama Canal, a railroad in Ecuador, and the banana plantations of Central America were a godsend. Numbers used to go to Panama and Cuba, but there have been restrictions to that in recent years.

* * *

SOME THOUSANDS CAME to America in the last war to work in war plants and at harvesting, but were sent back after the war. In short, the islands, with the exception of Jamaica and Trinidad, are like an over-filled beehive. They were settled before the United States. Some must get out, or else.

The great curse of these British islands is excess of imports over exports. With some of the richest soil in the world, much food still is imported. With the waters swarming with fish there is no need for imported salt-fish. Many years ago, W. E. Gladstone, then Prime Minister, said he intended to make of Jamaica with its super-abundance of fruit, a successful "jam-maker." But nothing ever came of it.

English jam still continued to be brought in, while at certain times of the year, fruit, especially delicious mangoes, were so plentiful, as to constitute almost a plague. Home manufacture was discouraged. The raw material was sent to England, manufactured, then sent back to the islands and sold at a high profit.

* * *

SOME TWENTY-FIVE years ago when I suggested that it would be a fine thing for the islands if they came under American rule, there was much protest from patriotic West Indians, who protested that America would bring in jim crow, as in the Canal Zone. There is not even residential segregation in the West Indies. In fact, the United States is the only country in the New World with legal jim crow.

There is color prejudice in the West Indies, much of it of the lighter Negro for the dark, but color, alone, is no bar. Unmixed Negroes have filled some of the most important official positions, not by election, but by appointment.

British color prejudice, except in South and East Africa, has never been the hard-and-fast thing it is in America. When William Hastie was made Governor of the American Virgin Islands with its 25,000 population, the news made headlines in the American Negro press.

* * *

A SIMILAR BRITISH appointment would probably have rated but a paragraph or two in the West Indian press. Some sixty years before there was a Negro Governor of the British Virgin Islands.

There have been other Negro administrators, and some seven or eight Negro Chief Justices, some of whom like the late Sir Conrad Reeves and the present Sir Clement Malone were knighted.

However, I felt, and do still feel, that American ownership would be best for the islands. It would give them a closer home market and permit freer emigration to the United States, which latter, I think, is also important for the American Negro.

* * *

SINCE 1924, IMMIGRATION from the islands to America has been cut to the merest of trickles while whites continue to pour in. Since this is as much a black man's land as a white man's, why should this be? Africa played an important part in the building of America, why should it not be permitted a much larger quota now? Foreign Negroes have contributed much to American Negro prestige. The first American Negroes were West Indian. Crispus Attucks was very likely one. At that time, all American Negroes were, moreover, British.

America would benefit by giving the Islands some Marshall Plan money. Some day when her program in Europe and Asia collapses, as it inevitably will, it will be found to be a wise investment. The safest region for American money is right here in the two Americas and we are going to realize it some day. When that day comes the role of the peoples of the Caribbean. who are mostly Negroes, will be important.

The Courier has shown long range vision in sending Schuyler. It is to be hoped his articles will appear in book-form.

ROGERS SAYS:

Editor Hodding Carter Falls Into Same Trap Of Which He Complains

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

HAVE most Northerners a wrong impression of the South? Hodding Carter, editor of the Delta Times-Democrat, Greenville, Miss., and Pulitzer prize-winner, says in an article, "What's Wrong With the North," (Look Magazine, Aug. 16), "One-sidedly and grotesquely the South has been presented as a region of utter hopelessness depravity and brutality.



Mr. Rogers

"A lot of things are wrong with us. But not as wrong as the endless 'exposes' make out. And it seems to me that it's about time to discover what's wrong with the North." He proceeds to do so. But it seems to me he falls into the same trap of which he complains. While what he recounts has happened his article is rather a picture based on headlines (as was done to the South) than of Northern life as it is. The everyday life of a people, no matter where, does not appear in headlines, in fact, does not make news at all.

SPACE WILL NOT permit my discussing but two or three of his points. For instance, he thinks that Southerners are a "homogenous folk, a truly distinct people" while Northerners are not sufficiently fused. "I'm astounded," he says, "at the number of foreign language newspapers that are published in the North . . . their editorial content is too frequently slanted towards Old World yearnings and issues."

As for Northern politics, he says it gives too much importance to such matters as the partition of Ireland, the recognition of Palestine, the Polish problem, the restoration of the Italian colonies and the aid to Spain." Very true. But who really led America into those Old World quarrels into which it is now so entangled? A Southerner, Woodrow Wilson, whose party had its stronghold in the South. This Democratic party, which is so much dominated by the South, took us into two world wars and is fixing to take us into a third. Today, thanks largely to this Democratic world-saving complex. Old World issues are being more and more grafted on American ones with the end not in sight.

* * *

AS FOR HOMOGENEITY, if Mr. Carter means clannishness based on skin-color, he's right. There was no jim crow in the South for German war prisoners but there was for native Americans with centuries of homogeneity who were fighting the Germans. The South dislikes Communists even more than the North but there a white Communist is permitted to go places barred to the most loyal anti-Communist with a dark skin. If somewhere in the South is a German who killed a thousand Americans he is given rights refused to a dark-skinned American though he saved a thousand lives.

Robeson is being censured because he says he loves Russia. But would it be possible for him to show as much bias to Russians as white Southerners show to Russians in their midst? The hated Russian, thanks to his color, goes where he pleases. The Negro citizen, no. Much of this is true of the North, also.

* * *

MR. CARTER SAYS, also, "I say in all honesty and from observations made over a long period that men hate and fear each other on more counts in the North . . . than anywhere else in the nation." True again. In the South hate is centered on one count, the Negro. He's the catch-basin for all the resentments and wrongs, real and fancied, generally speaking. As Prof. Keys of Johns Hopkins recently pointed out, Southerners differ politically, but they are a unit on "the racial question in all its manifestations." In the North, however, the whites, with not enough Negroes to be whipped up against, do as the whites in Europe, that is, have a variety of hates.

Jews, says Mr. Carter, are not excluded from Southern community life. Well, they're not treated like Negroes thanks to their paler skins. But were there no Negroes in the South, it's safe to say the Jews would be the goat. As housecats are given scratch-poles so the exploiters of labor hand the masses, regardless of color, some weaker minority on which to vent their angry claws. In the North, the masses come much nearer to placing their anger on what causes it. In the recent Peekskill riot nearly all the rioters on both sides were white. In the South they would have been of the so-called two races.

* * *

WHAT IS NEEDED in this North-South dispute is a realization of the simple truth that neither side has a monopoly of the good nor of the evil. In the light of high ethics and culture Southern jim crow is monstrous. Still, it would be most unjust to say all Southerners are alike. There are white Southerners who, though they live in a jim-crow environment as a fish lives in water, are as free from color prejudice as the freest European.

ROGERS SAYS:

White Fanciers of 'Dark Meat' Won't Like the After Effects of Bleaching

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

I HADN'T intended to say anything about Walter White's article in "Look," but certain of my friends, who have taken sides, ask me to. So here goes:

I first knew of the article when a friend, who had only heard of it, was attacking it. I got it and read it and read the headline, "Has Science Conquered the COLOR LINE?—A revolutionary chemical has been discovered that turns black skin white. When it is perfected Negroes who use it could 'pass' for 'white'."



Mr. Rogers

Bosh, I said, I've been hearing of similar miracle lotions since Walter was a boy. Certain Negro newspapers of 1911 and later used to advertise a cream guaranteed to turn black people white. "Know the Joy of Being White Overnight" ran the ad.

Also, some eighteen years ago, there was George Schuyler's hilarious and bubbling novel, "Black No More," in which a Negro doctor capitalizes on the inferiority complex of his people by selling them a cream that did turn them white to the consternation of the Klan, professional Southerners, and Negro leaders. Of course, the rascal was too shrewd to try his own stuff. Schuyler's book, though a satire, had some sound science on the fantastic notion of bleaching, therefore when I read Walter's article I laughed. "Walter," I said, "has put one over on the white folks again! He's done got a piece of change that will come in handy for his second honeymoon."

• • •

I LAUGHED AT the editor, too, for publishing fantastic foolery of such vintage. The article began, "Science has discovered a chemical that can change the color of skin from black to white." As for the conclusion reached in the two last paragraphs, it showed Mr. White was either naive or journalistically insincere.

Then I remembered that "Look" was out for circulation, which certain Negro leaders promptly proceeded to give it by blasting it. Had the same appeared in "The Crisis" or any other Negro paper, these leaders mightn't even have read it, much less given it such attention. When I read what the latter said, I mused, "Negroes in their sensitiveness are like a man with a painful skin-disease. Touch him anywhere and he squawks."

But color is not the only thing human beings are sensitive about. Certain white people who are too tall or too short, too fat or too thin, too white, as albinos, with noses too long or a leg too short, or the like are very sensitive about these handicaps. I have seen such in Europe where there were no black people about. Again a lone white man among Negroes can be uncomfortable, too. Livingstone, the great missionary, alone among African blacks wrote, "One feels ashamed of the white skin; it seems unnatural like blanched celery or white mice."

• • •

PEOPLE WHO ARE always downcast over how nature made them have no inner strength. I think of the Empress Josephine. She was much darker than the ladies of her court, and though she was above them all, used excessively white and red paint to whiten herself like them. One Czar of Russia, who had a pug-nose, was so sensitive about it, he ordered knouted anyone who mentioned "pug-nose" in his presence. On the other hand there is Jimmy Durante, who has turned his "nose" into real money.

If black people knew the history and the sociology of their skin-color, instead of hanging their heads, they'd be content and go on building their lives from there.

A white skin, in some respects, is really "inferior" to a dark one. Besides, it seems to be an evolution of the latter. The great philosopher, Schopenhauer, wrote a century ago, "There is no such thing as a white race much as this is talked of, but every white man is a faded or bleached one." Several leading scientists now hold to that theory.

• • •

AGAIN, AND HERE I'm speaking as one who has done vast research on the subject, a black skin has tremendous fascination for many white people and that as far back as the Greeks and Romans. In my writings I have given abundantly what white scientists and others, as Iwan Bloch, Ian MacCrone, Berkeley-Hill, and Havelock Ellis, say on this.

I also studied this attraction at first-hand, especially in Europe. When many whites object to intermarriage it is because it means the disappearance of the black skin which they love so much. Mr. White's article shows a very shapely black gal before she uses the bleaching cream and after.

Well, I know that many white fanciers of "dark meat" won't be liking the "after."

Now, my question is, why after all this, should Negroes mope about their color and be so ultra-sensitive? Really, they should wake up. They have been letting the American whites get away with murder, have been letting them eat their cake and have it, too.

Courier Verse

My Vacation

I listen to all the suggestions of
  Vacation places and trips to
    take,
From camps in the woods and
    fishing to
  A fashionable beach and a
    great lake.

I picture the ease of
  A luxury liner or a streamline
    train;
The leisure of motor travel and,
  The speed of a plane.

A place to relax beneath the sun
  And live a summer of ease,
With no alarm clocks
  Nor anybody to please.

Where time goes on the rocks—
  Where life is wonderful and
    gay,
And there's never a cause
  To think about the time or the
    day.

There are many delightful places
  Where I could take my choice
    and roam,
But my bank balance says
  I'll have to spend this summer
    at home.

HELEN S. FRIERSON

Nashville, Tenn.

Creation

The sea of life bathed the scene,
  In a warm and glowing light.
Then receding, left growing there,
  A flower in the night.

JOHN BROWN

Columbus, Ohio

Negro (J.A. Rogers)

ROGERS SAYS:

White Man's Attitude On 'Race' Stirs a Similar Hatred in Blacks

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

IN THE 1930's when "Trader Horn," a book on Africa by Trader Horn, who had spent a long time there, was a best seller, I overheard in a Paris cafe an American and a Frenchman, who had lived in America, discussing a passage in the book which ran something like this. "Americans are 'law-abiding and God-fearing people except when it comes to murder and the like.'" The American said that Trader Horn was being clever at the expense of truth. The Frenchman, replied, "Oh, yes? Well, what about lynching? Isn't that murder? And what do the law and the Church do about it?"



Mr. Rogers

The Frenchman added, "Americans are a practical and sensible people except when it comes to race. Then they can no more think straight than one who has downed a pint of gin can walk straight." He pointed to a Frenchman in the cafe who had come in with a coal-black wife, evidently African, and their four mulatto children. "That," he said, "would be a sensation in America. In France no one thinks anything about it. I probably wouldn't have noticed them if I hadn't been to America. We here think the blacks an integral part of the human race. You, Americans, don't, even though you have so many children by them."

* * *

WHAT THE FRENCHMAN said about thinking straight on so-called race came back to me in the fuss now being made over Walter White's marriage. Not even in barbarous South Africa would it have created such a stir. Mr. White and his new wife look like any American white couple. Even a Ku Kluxer who didn't know them would think so. Mr. White has probably no more Negro strain than any number of whites who are descended from the old families of Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina. Those three states, especially, began on race mixture, that is, with Indians and Negroes. I recall my first visit to New Orleans in 1911. Some of the whites were so dark and some of the blacks so white I wondered how they knew who was to ride jim crow.

When Paul Robeson Jr. married a white girl and some of the bystanders booed, the elder Robeson said that in Russia nothing would have been thought about it. That's true not only of Russia but all of Europe and the rest of the New World. Even in England, the civilized country with the most color prejudice after the United States, it would have caused very little stir. The mating of whites and blacks in England probably antedates Julius Caesar. I have discovered much of it since the fifteenth century when Negro slavery was introduced there. So little sensitve then were the English about "mixed" marriages that in 1787 when 351 ex-slaves were about to be sent to Sierra Leone, sixty-two white women were picked up the night before, married to as many Negroes, and shipped off with them.

* * *

ONE GREAT EVIL about the white man's attitude on "race" is that it stirs a similar hatred in the blacks. The first whites in Africa were not hated. This began only when they started to kidnap the blacks for sale in Europe. But even as late as Mungo Park, whites who went into Central Africa were well treated. It is true that the first white woman explorer, Mlle. Tinne, was killed. One account was that it was for the gold she was said to have; another is, that the natives couldn't make out what this strange creature with hair so long, skin so pale, and covered from neck to foot, was, and thought it best to get rid of her. In any case that white queen of which we have been hearing so much would not be the first that Africa, even below the equator, had.

Chaka, great Zulu king and conqueror, had two white wives. Catholic missionaries, it seems, sometimes married white women to African kings in order to win them and their people more easily to Christianity. I found three such cases in my researches. Trader Horn, as I recall, also mentioned a white queen in Africa. The objection of some of Seretse Kham's people, the Bamangwato, to his white wife, is clearly a reflex of the treatment they received from the whites. This is precisely the case of the American Negro, who, in his "race" thinking is often as "cuckoo" as a Kluxer. In short, it is the result of hatred, which though understandable in Negroes, is nonetheless an evidence of barbarism. Even worse, it is butting into the private affairs of others.

* * *

FINALLY, AS REGARDS Mr. White's divorce that doesn't faze me, either. Divorce is as old as marriage. Those who insist on the Bible as a criterion in everything will find justification for it even there. All that an ancient Jew had to do was to give his wife a piece of paper which said in effect, "You're fired." Mr. White has rendered immense service. I can't see why his strictly personnal affairs should be used against him.

ROGERS SAYS:

Jackie Robinson vs. Paul Robeson—Negroes Should Air Their Differences Among Selves

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

AS ONE who tries to think ethically, that is, being fair even to those I happen not to like, this race question has me dizzy most of the time. For instance, according to the New York Times (Oct. 2), many Southerners "are rooting for the Cardinals to beat the Dodgers because of the presence of Negro stars, Jackie Robinson, Don Newcombe and Roy Campanella on the Brooklyn club." On the other hand many Robeson fans are against the Dodgers simply because Robinson is on it.



Mr. Rogers

I've been talking with several Robeson fans and what they're saying about the Dodgers is a-plenty. The white Robeson fans are against Robinson, too. They've never forgiven him for his appearance before the Un-American Activities Committee, which, truth to tell, is not exactly renowned for its stand on civil rights for all white or black, what with its poll-tax and jim-crow members.

Now it cannot be denied that both Robeson and Robinson, great artists in their respective fields, have done much to break down color prejudice in a practical way. However, when you come to analyze it, you'll find that both, having stepped out of the entertainment field into the direct fight for civil rights, have been reduced by color prejudice to a common denominator.

Robeson, whose aim is undoubtedly to better conditions for his "race," has become to many a mere "Russia-lover." Robinson, who, I feel, is just as sincere, has been marked down by many as "a white man's Negro," or in common parlance, an "Uncle Tom." Robinson did make a far stronger attack on race discrimination than he did against Robeson, but is was the latter that was more strongly featured. The newsreels, for instance, which was seen perhaps by millions who didn't read the story, carried only Robinson's blast against Robeson, which, of course, was in line with the policy of the exploiters of the Negro and their tools.

* * *

IF IN SOME fifty years or so the matter is mentioned by historians, the latter will have to dig deep to get at what Robinson really did. And the account will not be to Robinson's credit unless he makes a much bigger name for himself than a baseball player. Baseball, in spite of the frenzy worked up for it in the people (thanks to the money being made out of it) is froth. You could have ten thousand years of it and the human race would be just where it is.

A baseball player is here today, and gone tomorrow. Except in rare instances, he's like the snows of yester-year. Robinson's fame outside the United States, moreover, is almost nil. That of Robeson is world-wide and, I feel, secure for posterity.

SOUTHERNERS HAVE A particular horror of communism because of its attack on their cherished institutions, so you'd fancy many would be grateful to Robinson for his blast against it. But are they? Robinson's appearance before that Washington committee contains this lesson: When Negroes have differences of opinion it is better that they air it among themselves, say in the Negro press, rather than to take it to the white folks, especially politicians, whose first aim is to make capital out of it for themselves.

Rep. Eugene Cox of Georgia is quoted as saying that Robeson with his boosting of Russia has "tainted the Negro with disloyalty." The disloyalty that Cox really has in mind is disloyalty to Southern traditions. In New York eleven Communists are now being tried. Two of them are Negroes. Suppose Cox were to see the eleven eating together in an Atlanta restaurant, white or colored, what would he be more horrified at the alleged disloyalty of the Communists or the infringement of the jim-crow law? The "taint" of color in the eyes of Cox and most Southerners is so strong that it swallows up disloyalty.

* * *

COX, AND MANY others like him know full well that Negroes even when they complain most are over 99 per cent loyal. What really irks them is that they see what they're doing to Negroes being used by enemies of the United States to paint the latter as a heartless, inhuman land, thus arousing world sentiment against it.

The Russian statements are, of course, exaggerated but nations from time immemorial have used this tactic against their enemies. We, ourselves used it against the British, the Spaniards, the Mexicans, the Germans, (twice); the Japanese, and now the Russians. And let's not forget its use against the colored citizens here at home.

ROGERS SAYS:

Acting in Lost Boundaries And Pinky Seemed Flawless And Impressed Him Most

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

THREE current films — "Home of the Brave," "Lost Boundaries," and "Pinky" — are a welcome departure from the kind of fare Hollywood has been giving on the Negro, as say, "Cabin In the Sky." I haven't seen "Home of the Brave" yet. The other two I liked very much.



Mr. Rogers

What impressed me most, though, was not the racial theme, but the acting in both films. It seemed flawless and shows what American actors can do when given plays into which they can put real feeling.

Most American films are of the leg-and-bosom, gun-toting, noisy, cooked-up for the market kind, for people still in the comic-sheet stage of intellectual and mental development. The result has been that the American actor shows up inferior to the European one. European audiences demand emotional reality and sincerity.

I speak as one who has been a consistent movie-goer for the past forty years. For half of that most of the films I've seen are European, and I'm disappointed far less often by them than with American ones.

• • •

OF COURSE, THE racial theme contributed greatly to my interest. "Lost Boundaries" is a terrific and well-deserved slap at jim crow in the Navy. What's more it is based on real life, that of Dr. Albert Johnson of New Hampshire, whose white children didn't know they were "colored until the sons tried to enter the Navy.

The picture, too, is a convincing blast against color prejudice. The scene is laid in the North, and since so many Southerners claim the North is as bad as the South one would think the South would welcome it. But it is generally barred there. Why? I think it's because it casts great doubt on the vaunted race purity of that section.

Pinky is laid in the South and is an indictment of how Negroes are treated, at least, in some parts there. Though very strong, it will carry conviction to those who remember what happened recently at Monroe, Ga., and Groveland, Fla. White men who are rabid to protect Pinky when they think her "white" are as quick to insult her when they learn she is colored. From a worshipped creature, she becomes a despised one, fit only for their lust. For the Negroes, imbued with the racial doctrine of the whites, she takes a dive in respect, too.

What is certain: Pinky will not reach the South during the lifetime of most of us. I do believe, though, that a great number of Southerners would welcome it. In New York, crowds stood in line to see it, even at the high price of $1.50. "Lost Boundaries" has been on Broadway for over two months now. I understand that the same is true of other cities. One thing is clear: America's greatest social question is definitely a box-office attraction.

• • •

IN BOTH PLAYS so-called intermarriage, chief bogey of the question, is dealt with on its safest side, that is, the love couples are all white. "In Lost Boundaries," a white woman plays the "colored" role and Jeanne Crain (Pinky) is white also. In this way, the racial "properties" are observed, that is, one who is really "colored" is not seen embracing one of the white caste. Still I don't quarrel with that.

The film is such a racial departure, I feel it deserves the warm gratitude of us all.

Intermarriage plays a minor role in "Lost Boundaries"; it doesn't in "Pinky." To one who puts human emotion above "race" love is the principal force in "Pinky," therefore, I felt definitely cheated by its conclusion which was tailored to fit the American taboo against so-called mixed marriages. The playwright tried to cover up by having a rich woman leave property to Pinky, very clearly with the understanding that she should devote it and herself to serving her "race," which she finally does, after dismissing the white man who loves her and whom she loves so deeply.

This unconvincing gesture almost always happens in books and plays while in real life the number of white men marrying Negro women is increasing. Only last month a New York socialite married a dark Negro girl. Pinky declares that as a Negro girl she can't live without Negro ties. Is Walter White and his wife living without ties? Still this ought not to lessen the deep gratitude we owe to Darryl Zanuck, the producer.

I HOPE THESE pictures also mean greater recognition for Negro actors. For instance, Clarence Muse, veteran film actor, who has never got a real break. I had been seeing him in films for years and only in servant roles. Great was my surprise when I first met him in Los Angeles to find him one of the most informed, intelligent and cultured men I've ever met, and so highly thought of by others in Hollywood.

ROGERS SAYS:

Huge To-Do Over Communists Trial Was Like Using a Sledge Hammer Just to Kill a Flea

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

BETWEEN the shouting of anti-Communist and pro-Communist those on the side lines are getting much heat but little light on the merits of the Communist trial. I think it was fair. So was the verdict. I stop there though, since all was done within the frame of a law designed "to get" Communists. The Smith Act under which the eleven were convicted was tailored for them precisely as jim-crow laws for Negroes. Both violate the Constitution.



Mr. Rogers

The New York Post rightly says, "The prosecution was based on a statute which stupidly identifies Communist ideas rather than Communist sabotage (or espionage) as a threat to our security . . . The basic premise of the Smith Act is the notion that we can no longer risk Communist oratory. That premise is an affront to our national dignity."

I hold, therefore, that if the judge and jury followed the law (as they were sworn to do) bias or no bias, there could be no other verdict. Thus for all that million-dollar trial served real justice, the defendants could have been sentenced at the moment of arrest. The difference between it, at bottom, and those in Soviet-dominated countries is that between a polite robber and a rough-house one. But for its form, the trial was a farce. The Communists are an insignificant minority.

Their organ, the Daily Worker, has only 26,000 circulation and their weekly one, 86,000. The fuss to-do over the trial was like using a steam-hammer to kill a flea. What are the 70,000 Communists against the mighty Army, Navy and Air Force of this nation? Are conditions in America so much worse than we are led to think? I maintain that a healthy economy that believes in itself and in which justice is impartially administered need have no fear of Communists.

* * *

JAILING AND KILLING people for ideas is older than Greece or Rome. The Romans killed Christians for not holding to the Pagan party-line. Later the Christians killed other Christians for not holding to the dominant party-line. The Nazis did it too. So do the Soviets. Now we're well on our way to imitating both.

I'm against statism, whether it be that of Russia or of the present administration, nevertheless, I think the Communists serve, on the whole, a healthy purpose —something like criticism to a writer. Much of what they say sounds extreme, but even that could be used to some profit. I suspect, though, that they are jailed not so much because they tried to overturn the Government but to overturn certain forces dominating it. After all, government is not what's down on paper, but what the people are getting.

* * *

AS REGARDS THE jury, suppose it had said "not guilty." dina, as was his duty, barred most of the evidence intended to prove this. The lawyers then worked to cause a mistrial. Result, an unjudicious atmosphere. For the dignity of the court the lawyers could not have been permitted to get away with it. But when Medina dishes out such severe punishment to them what happens to his patience of which we had been hearing so much? Those sentences were revenge.

* * *

AS REGARDS THE two Negro defendants, I'm positive that but for race prejudice, they'd never have been on trial. Communism, as it exists among its few Negro followers, is really anti-jim crowism. Ben Davis, who started as a Republican, was won to communism while fighting a jim-crow case in Georgia. Today, a militant fighter for civil rights, he makes it uncomfortable for foes of the Negro. Therefore, silence him.

I've known Davis for twenty-two years and not for a moment would I believe him a plotter against his country. If I did I'd be one of the first to oppose him. The trial will certainly bring him many new supporters. Political trials, especially one so flimsily based as this, are bad for any nation. And they usually boomerang on their instigators.

"The thinking Negro refuses to accept the idea or even the theory that race prejudice is natural and inevitable, that it is inherent in the child, either white or black. He insists that it is acquired and cultivated, and that the greatest single aid to its cultivation is segregation." R. R. MOTON.

What would have happened to its members amid all this hysteria? Remember the outcry against the four dissenters in the Alger Hiss case. As for the two Negroes in it if they had stood for acquittal, 15,000,000 Negroes would have gotten the blame. As it is now Negroes may carry on as usual. They will still have less civil rights than Communists with white skins.

As for the defense lawyers, they knew they were up against it from the start, hence they resorted to two legal ruses, first to try to convince the court their clients only had been working for right and justice. Judge Me-

ROGERS SAYS:

American Negroes Simply Cannot Realize What Africans Are Up Against

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier—The Editors.)

FROM Durban, South Africa, comes a story reminiscent of when education was almost non-existent among American Negroes, when men like Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington starved for knowledge and made every possible effort and sacrifice to get it.



Mr. Rogers

Nehemiah Munyam, a carpenter, bent on getting a college degree, decided to come to the United States. He wrote Dillard University, and, notified he would be accepted as a student, set about saving enough money.

He worked for the next sixyears, sixteen hours a day, sixdays a week. He took no vacations, ate insufficient food, and ignored the warnings of his friends that he was risking his health. At last he saved enough—one thousand English pounds, or about $3,600.

He got a passport and a visa at the American Consulate, and was about to start for the goal for which he had made such sacrifices when the English pound was devalued, wiping out at one blow a third of his hard-earned treasure. What left was too small to take him. Now he will have to work another two years to make it up provided the pound is not devalued again.

* * *

AMERICAN NEGROES, especially those in large cities with free schools and books galore to be had from free libraries, simply cannot realize what tens of thousands of ambitious African youths are up against. There is one scene which I witnessed in Africa that I shall never forget. In a small town in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, I met a number of young men to whom the acquisition of knowledge seemed more important than anything else in life.

Books of any kind were exceedingly scarce and such education as they had was restricted and controlled by the Government. The people of this region had once revolted against their British and Egyptian masters, driven them out, and remained free for seventeen years.

Now, they were being kept down by permitting to go into their heads only such education as would make them subservient. The youths said they weren't even allowed to take correspondence school courses in America. As they told of their hunger for knowledge, one of them dropped to the ground and cried like a baby.

I thought then of us, in America, to whom this most precious gift bears, at least to millions, little or no value. I once suffered a similar lack as those youths myself and today a book is a precious thing. Even when it is worth little, that is, its contents, I still see in it a symbol that permits humanity, regardless of color, to touch the stars. Later I did smuggle some books in to these young men.

* * *

OVER THE YEARS I have received many letters from Africans, especially from the West Coast. Though I really cannot afford it, I send them free copies of my books from time to time. Of course, many Africans can afford to buy books, and will gladly do so, but like the folks in the British West Indies, they are not permitted to send money out of the country. The appreciation of the African youths for these humble gifts is so great that I am deeply touched.

Among the letters I especially value is one from Dr. R. Shoneyeh Wright, President of Washington Carver Institute, Accra, Gold Coast, West Africa, who says in part: "I am pleased to inform you, we have named one of the dormitories in the Washington Carver Institute, 'J. A. Rogers Dormitory.'

"We feel your name should evoke inquiries from this and future generations to which the answer shall be: 'He was a man, take him for all he was. We shall not look upon his like again. Please send a copy of your portrait enlarged for the dormitory.

* * *

"YOUR BOOKS ARE ever my delight and I realize they are the result of herculean research and a great sacrifice in order that the black man may know his whence and whither."

He adds, "Please send us books and periodicals whenever you find it convenient." I sent some and am passing on his request to others. Books, inspiring books, on the Negro are as welcome as gold to African youths.

Your old Negro newspaper would be greatly appreciated, too. Please make African youths happy by sending them literature. Dr. Wright will gladly distribute it. I have given his address above. Add to it, P. O. Box 260.

Negro (George S. Schuyler)

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Courier, Pgh. 10-8-49

Policy of Excluding Negro GIs in Pacific Is Well Planned

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

FROM occupied Nippon comes a letter from a soldier of the Twenty-fourth Infantry whose name I withhold for obvious reasons although I have his permission to use it. He comments at length on one phase of the so-called democratization program of which we learn nothing from MacArthur's busy publicity officers.



Mr. Schuyler

My informant writes: "Here in the Pacific, especially here in Japan, the policy of excluding Negroes is well planned and carried out. General MacArthur may not be aware of it, but the Japanese Communists of which there are many, are using this vivid example for their evidence to dupe more into their ranks.

"From my end here the picture looks bad for our democracy. Negro troops in a large scale do not share in any of the fine positions the Army offers over here. In the GHQ (general headquarters) no Negroes I see or hear of serve. The hospitals don't use Negro medics but rather use Japanese, which in turn cost our people a great deal. The Military Government Team does not have any Negroes on its staff. In fact we as American Negroes are not given our share of decent jobs to show our capabilities."

* * *

HE GOES ON: "This Twenty-fourth Infantry Regiment is just the same. No Negroes on the colonel's staff nor the battalion staff. The few Negro officers here usually have jobs such as utilities, special services, etc.

"Mr. Schuyler, I believe that you can urge (the people in Washington) to get up and do something . . . We could use Negro officers for this 'all-Negro' outfit. Negroes are paying taxes the same as whites. There is no color line there. All the same money. Thus we demand our share.

"Mr. Johnson's (Defense Secretary) program is a farce here. This segregation in our armed forces is fuel for the fires of communism. These people are raving crazy to believe in such foreign ideology. We all must fight or die if necessary to prevent it from taking hold of our American ideals. In the same way all Americans must work as a team and do our share. America needs us and we need her. Mr. Schuyler, I speak for several who think and believe the same. However, they fear something may happen to them.

"I do hope you can find time to reply to this and if necessary you can use it for evidence. My name is there and can be used to implement what I say in this is facts. I think Evans. Powell, Dawson and you, and a few others should visit here and see for yourselves. My sincere hope is that you will accept the challenge and carry it to the public. Please find time to reply."

* * *

THIS APPEALING LETTER should arrest the attention of the boobs who fell for Truman's "civil rights" chatter and rushed to the polls last year to keep him and his Administration in Washington. Br'er Truman and the man who preceded him were alike in their low opinion of the Aframerican mentality. Roosevelt's opinion was lower than Harry's because he never even **promised** Negroes anything. Indeed, he showed his disdain by cadging their dimes to fight infantile paralysis while barring black polio victims from his Warm Springs sanitarium.

Truman, in more desperate straits than Roosevelt, shouted for "civil rights" with tongue in cheek, while failing to end color discrimination and racial segregation in the Government departments which he bosses with dictatorial power.

Can there be any doubt that in captive Japan Truman could have compelled the U. S. defense forces to practice the democracy which they have been attempting to teach the Japanese? The Japanese are no fools. They can see through the hypocrisy of the Americans, just as the Germans can. People judge by what they see practiced rather than what they hear preached. When they see American Negroes in the Federal uniform treated as pariahs, how can they believe the drivel from the "Voice of America" and the other Army and State Department propaganda mills?

* * *

OF COURSE JAPAN is a great distance from the U. S., most Negroes there are afraid to talk and write, and the Army's public relations bull-shooters are silent about these matters. But what about Federal-controlled departments, agencies, bureaus and institutions right here in the U. S. A.?

Take Oak Ridge, Tenn., for example. The Government built it and owns it, and yet it is the worst jim-crow town in the state, bar none. The same used to be true of Norris, Tenn., headquarters of the TVA, and Boulder City out in Nevada, and may be today. There are all sorts of discriminations and segregation in the various bureaus under Truman's authority as there were under Roosevelt.

Why have they not been ended? Does any sane person believe that if by some miracle the whole Truman "civil rights" program were enacted into law that our Government of ex-Klansmen, lame ducks and political opportunists would be any more zealous in enforcing the law than they have been in carrying out White House directives ordering an end to departmental bias? This thought should give pause to those who are panting for the misnamed "Welfare State," in which the Government will own and control everything.



Mr. Schuyler

sicians, dentists, school teachers, politicians, preachers, musicians, social workers, psychologists, writers and the like, but these professionals are parasitical and in many instances dispensable. Largely they live off the poverty, ignorance and misery of the masses. Of course they perform a social service but it is far less important and significant than that of the scientists, the industrialists, the manufacturers and the financiers.

* * *

BECAUSE THOSE WHO control affairs in our civilization understand full well



By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Dr. Percy Julian Is a Challenge to America

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

THE wizardry of Dr. Percy Julian and the world-wide reputation he has won point up one of the glaring failures of the Negro here and elsewhere in the Western world. Dr. Julian is an outstanding exception among colored intellectuals because he has specialized in a field that is fundamental and creative in our civilization. Our technological age needs above all chemists, engineers, electricians, architects, mineral-

ogists, metallurgists, botanists, horticulturists and physicists, nutritionists, thousands of phy-

what is fundamental and what superficial, they have encouraged Negroes to enter the professions that do not really matter much and carefully kept them out of those that do. For instance, how many Guggenheim or Rosenwald fellowships have gone to Negroes in the fundamental fields where they would compete with the best? How many bright young Negro scientific students have been given scholarships to our great polytechnic and technological institutes? And, one must add honestly, how few have wanted to go? It is much easier to follow the lucrative path of gulling, butchering, doping or mis-educating the mob.

Since emancipation we have been obsessed with the idea of getting our offspring into the so-called genteel professions, and the superficial and parasitical pursuits were so regarded. We lost thousands of farms, the laundry business, the barber business and other "lowly" pursuits which white people entered and made fortunes.

* * *

TRUE THERE HAVE been many barriers in the path of the young Negro wishing to pursue one of the fundamental careers. There was not only the prejudice of employers but that of the employes, which grew rather than diminished through the years. Even to this day the labor monopoly of the Big Four Brotherhoods bars Negroes from any railroad occupation save digging, lifting and serving. The same is true of most of the other highly skilled trades which are unionized. Either by constitutions or by-laws they exclude Negroes, and even the Taft-Hartley law has made little difference. The labor monopolists have control of millions of votes while the employers do not, and besides these Negrophobic unions can force their will upon businesses which cannot operate without union sanction via contracts.

Even then it is noteworthy that many trained Negro scientists did find employment, and I am convinced that many more could have done so had they been prepared. I have heard of many such positions that trained Negroes could have had but they did not want to bother with them because the pay was smaller than they wanted. Far-sighted white youths took those jobs.

* * *

THERE HAS NOT been the awareness among us of the great importance of science in a scientific age. We have been living in the Twentieth Century but thinking in the Eighteenth Century. Booker T. Washington had clearer vision than the vast majority of American Negroes but he was cried down by shallow pates like DuBois. They were outraged by the truths he uttered, but his stature grows with the years as his people glimpse the fundamentals more clearly.

Carver, while much of a charlatan, nevertheless inspired his pupils to take up scientific pursuits at a time when the majority of graduates were entering the world as Bachelors of Art. Most of them, unfortunately, still do.

Considering our vast number of fraternities, sororities, lodges and wealthy congregations, we ought to be sending at least 100 brilliant youths each year to the best scientific schools here and abroad, probably more. At this time there is less opportunity to their employment than ever before and if they cannot start working here there are plenty of opportunities in other countries. Science is international.

All our scientists cannot and will not be Percy Julians, of course, but more of our youths can and should be trained to enter these scientific fields and get in on the ground floor of our technological civilization. The failure to do so in the past has been a measure of our inability to see reality while concentrating on yammering for "rights" which are largely meaningless without some power of implementation.

WORLD TODAY

By George S. Schuyler

Amazing development of the year may be equalization of Negro and white public education in Mississippi. Governor Fielding L. Wright, erstwhile Dixiecrat leader, is carrying the torch for it—a most unusual torch for a Mississippiar to be carrying.

TEMPEST in a teapot is the shooting at Walter White because of his recent piece in a national magazine about science turning Negroes white. We folks must be losing our sense of humor. Or are some people just eager to shoot at Walter on any pretext?

Autumn development will be an agreement between Britain and Jamaica for the former to buy the latter's sugar crop over a period of years at "fair prices." Probably the catch will be that Jamaica will have to buy everything it needs at high prices for inferior quality. That's the usual pattern.

LAST WEEK South Africa's Negroes observed a national day of prayer "in this period of humiliation and dispossession." Reason is that South African government is methodically applying segregation in all public places and barring "liberal" motion pictures like "Home of the Brave" which preach tolerance and understanding. The Boers are getting more panicky every day. The Negroes are getting more race conscious and that is regarded as a "dangerous trend."

* * *

The coming of King Seretse Khama's white wife to Bechuanaland has given the South African whites a big headache because the marriage flouts their anti-intermarriage laws. This is one "dangerous" trend showing that the blacks are getting ideas which is something those Boers regard as intolerable.

THE CHRISTIAN HERALD reports continued gains in the membership of all religious bodies in the U. S. Last year's gain was 2,190,164, bringing total strength to 79,576,352 or 53.3 per cent of the U. S. population. If this keeps up the country may soon be practicing Christianity!

Reported rise of the Ku Klux Klan in New York's Long Island is not surprising. It was a K.K.K. hotbed twenty-five years ago. The recent decision of the New York Court of Appeals ruling that the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company has a right to bar Negroes from its Stuyvesant Town housing project in Manhattan, doubtless gave encouragement to the hooded horde. Ku Kluxism is as bad in a black robe as it is in a white one!

* * *

HOME RULE for the District of Columbia having passed the Senate is still hung up in a House sub-committee, and the House is getting ready to adjourn without acting on it. Powerful Washington interests do not want any part of home rule because that would mean the end of jim crow.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Fooled by Roosevelt Twelve Years . . . and Now by Truman

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

THE intelligent minority of our folks who are interested in political realities instead of illusions and fictions should feel deeply indebted to Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt for revealing the facts about the late President's political expediency with regard to the Negroes in her recent article in a national magazine. This information was ancient history to the informed few but was undoubtedly a great revelation to the majority.



George S. Schuyler

All through the various Roosevelt new deals there was a fervent desire on the part of most of our people to believe that FDR was their champion and intent on pushing the reforms for which they and their leaders were agitating even though these antagonized the unreconstructed Southern whites. Negroes, of course, were not the only ones in this country who indulged in such wishful thinking. Almost the entire nation was gulled.

ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS in this column from the 1932 campaign, when Roosevelt promised to save everybody while drastically cutting government expenses and taxes, to the day of his demise an effort was made to keep the readers informed of the political realities in regard to lynching, poll taxes, discrimination, segregation and fair employment practices.

The writer felt that it was essential to the political education of our people to enable them to distinguish between demagogy and reality, but to little avail. People just love to believe in Santa Claus and Mr. Roosevelt was regarded as a selfless Santa Claus who would toss political expediency aside for humanitarian principles. Because he said so gullible people believed him even while he was taking them for a ride. Anybody with any political sense knew full well that no President is going to jeopardize his position by antagonizing powerful segments of his party to "save" the Negro.

THE SAINTED FRANKLIN completely hornswoggled the majority of the Negroes as well as the majority of their leaders. The latter greatly aided in the miseducation of their people by leading them to believe that Roosevelt would perform miracles for them. Men like Walter White, who should certainly have known better, were taken in by clever Democratic politicians of the Northern branch of the party who were hailed as "friends of the Negro" when they sham-battled for the legislation Negroes wanted although fully aware that nothing of the sort could be accomplished or was even intended.

The politicians meeting in party caucuses snickered over the gullibility of the supposedly wise Negro leaders whom publicly they patted on the back and assured of undying support.

Now we know from Mrs. Roosevelt that her illustrious husband acted, as in all other matters, just the opposite of what his propaganda corps led the people to believe his real position was. A few jobs to a favored few colored people was made to appear as betterment for the entire race.

WELL, IT IS HARD for the majority to learn, if not impossible. Having been fooled by Roosevelt for twelve years in the face of a mountain of revelations to the contrary, they were no less gullible when Harry Truman succeeded him. Again Messrs. White, Hastie, et al., led the sheep to the political slaughter.

His advisers easily rang the bell when they urged him to issue his Executive Order 9808 soon after the Republicans won the 80th Congress and to establish his Committee on Civil Rights. This was clearly a device designed to help pave the way to Democratic victory two years later. They figured rightly that this move would simultaneously capture the Negroes, the Jews, the assorted "liberals" and much of the lunatic fringe gravitating around Henry Wallace. It was also seen that if successful it might hasten the trend toward totalitarianism, the real goal of both the New Deal and the Fair Deal. The report of the aforesaid committee made an effective campaign document which was printed and circulated widely almost as soon as it was issued.

ARMED WITH THIS, Truman and his boys felt confident. The 81st Congress, overwhelmingly Democratic, was asked to enact the whole legislative program of so-called civil rights. Where Roosevelt had remained mum on all these matters throughout his reign, Truman harped on the program in all keys and the gullible Negroes were enchanted. To them Truman became the reincarnation of Lincoln although he was no more sincere about it than Roosevelt was, just less honest. Wherever they could and did vote, they voted overwhelmingly for Truman, thereby swinging open the gates for the retention of our Cracker-controlled Administration.

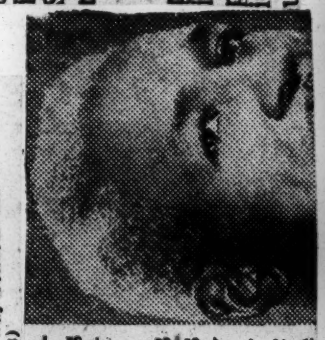
Today everybody concedes that the so-called civil rights program is dead for this session of Congress. The political wiseacres, including astute Harry Truman, know full well that it will never be enacted. They knew that when they began ballyhooing it, but as Truman told one of his Southern henchmen during the campaign, they needed it in order to win. Having won they proceeded to go through the old monotonous procedure of "fighting" to enact the program with the usual result. After Truman will come some other clever politician with the same line for which most of us will as easily fall.



George S. Schuyler

Each group, however, has its own individuality and no two islands are exactly alike. The fact that the insular societies are moulded and influenced by the "mother" countries would preclude that. You know immediately when you enter a French, Spanish, English, Dutch or American territory.

THE VAST MAJORITY of the dark people in all of these islands are poorer in material possessions than their counterparts in the agricultural South. They live, in the main, in perfectly horrible shacks usually without sanitary facilities and there



By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Caribbean Negroes Worse Off Than Those in Some Dixie States

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

LOOKING out of the window of the Royal Hotel in St. Kitts, across the little harbor of Basseterre to the oblique canefields beyond and the distant cloud-screened summit of the high mountain on neighboring Nevis, I was reviewing some of my conclusions about Caribbean and United States colored folk. I have been observing the latter closely for a lifetime and the former as closely as possible for the past three months.

The West Indians speak many tongues and live under many flags but essentially their economic systems are the

are so many of them per square mile that everywhere there is congestion. There is also a great deal of disease and nutritional deficiency, more in some places than in others, but too much everywhere. In many places venereal diseases are rife, and over 60 per cent of the children are born out of wedlock. There is, on the other hand, far less illiteracy than one would imagine, and surprisingly enough there is more in the American territory of Puerto Rico than in places like Martinique, Barbados, Grenada and Antigua.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE CARIBBEAN NEGROES in agriculture are worse off than those in states like Mississippi, Georgia and Louisiana. They get much less for their labor and for everything not produced on their islands they have to pay more than the peasants in the deep South, and it is shoddier.

At the bottom the West Indian farm worker, while usually able to read and write, looks and is far more ignorant than the morons back in the bullrushes, canebrakes and cornfields of rural Dixie. A morning spent in the Summary Court in St. John's, Antigua, presided over by colored Magistrate Joseph H. V. Redhead, was eloquent testimony to that. An intelligent face stood out in the audience like the Washington Monument, and the testimony was less intelligible than the geechee gibberish of the Seaboard Carolinas, if that is possible. Most of the cases dealt with paternity and revealed an astonishing degree of promiscuity. It was almost like Hollywood!

* * *

ON THE OTHER hand these West Indian workers and peasants are free from the repressive legislation typical of our South, and they are a cheekier and jauntier lot with not too much respect for their supposed betters. There is no apprehension of swift reprisal based on color as in our land. More and more they are getting universal suffrage without onerous property qualifications. But being new to the vote, the masses are still greatly susceptible to demagogy of a primitive sort. Although, to tell the truth, they are probably no more naive than our Negroes who swallowed the amphigories of Roosevelt, Truman and Wallace.

The West Indians have taken to labor unionism as readily as U. S. Negroes, if not more so, and in many places one finds flourishing cooperative enterprises both of consumers and producers, although nowhere near what there should be. We have made no more progress in that direction for all of our greater opportunities.

* * *

THERE IS SIMPLY no comparison between the opportunities enjoyed by West Indians in the field of skilled trades, sales, clerical work, management and government service, and those of American Negroes. One sees colored people down here doing everything from working in banks, presiding over legal procedures and managing big stores, to administering important political offices. While American Negroes have come quite a ways in this direction since 1939, the West Indians have been moving ahead, too, and they are still far in the lead. Where we hail as a victory of great importance the hiring of a handful of colored clerks, telephone operators or office workers, this is commonplace throughout the Caribbean with the exception of Puerto Rico where the 12 per cent blacks are not often seen behind counters.

Moreover, it is not improbable that the upper class Negroes who largely constitute the group of civil servants and administrators in the West Indies are on the whole better educated than their opposite numbers in the U. S. A. Graduates of Cambridge, Oxford and London universities are frequently encountered in the English islands, while in the French islands practically all of this group has spent years in the University of Paris, Sorbonne, Lyons and Bordeaux. They are a gracious and cultured lot with a continental polish and wide contact and experience.

* * *

OF COURSE IT would probably be otherwise in the way of professional and administrative jobs if there was not such a tiny minority of whites in the West Indies. Even in the Southern states with the largest Negro populations there is nowhere a colored majority. Nowhere down here, except in Puerto Rico, is there a large white population. On the other hand, throughout South America, where the black man is everywhere in the minority, he is even farther behind than in our deep South, and is not free from the color line. Neither, for that matter, are the West Indians.

One concludes that the future of the American Negro, however, is brighter than that of the West Indian colored folk. If two-thirds of the massed populations of these islands could be shifted to the three Guianas, Venezuela and Brazil, it would be mutually beneficial to all concerned. But those American republics do not want Negro immigrants, and as yet there is neither the capital nor the political genius available to populate the spacious Guianas from the crowded Caribbean. These islands are poor because there is simply not enough to feed so many mouths.

The WORLD TODAY

3-12-49

By George S. Schuyler

Willemstad Curacao: Thanks to the oil trust this island is probably more prosperous than any in the West Indies, with new cars flashing by and new houses going up. The big fear is that Venezuela, which supplies oil for Curacao's refineries may some day decide to do its own refining. That would be catastrophic for Curacao. But it's unlikely since the oil trust owns Venezuela! Meanwhile the Negroes here (and there are few whites) are living well.

* * *

CARACAS, VENEZUELA: Things are quiet here with the former government in prison or exile and those whom they overthrew in 1946 returning to their old life. The military junta says there will be elections soon and that before then, full civil rights will be restored but they are not specific. When the oil trust decided the revolutionary Betancourt-Gallegos regime was getting too chesty, that was the end.

* * *

Port-of-Spain, Trinidad: This colorful island with its striking scenery, its marvelous beaches, its beautiful women and its politically awakening Negroes is also ruled by the oil trust. The sugar trust is also influential. It is unlikely that there will be any large degree of political autonomy in territories so dependent for livelihood upon one or two monopolies. Still, there's no harm in trying.

* * *

GEORGETOWN, BRITISH GUIANA: This colony has greater potentialities than any British possession down this way. It has space, many natural resources and high potential for diversification. Two big shortages are people and capital. There is enough room for all the crowded, surplus population of the West Indies, but England's colonial development schemes are going forward no faster here than in Africa. It doesn't look like the British have got what it takes.

2-1-49

Arima, Trinidad: At the race track here to see the famous Creole meet, the most striking spectacle was not the racing, but the human flower garden! Indians, Chinese, Europeans and Negroes have developed some gorgeous specimens of feminine pulchritude. On such gala occasions these multi-colored folk seem to forget the various color and caste lines that bedevil these regions.

* * *

SAN FERNANDO, TRINIDAD: Unknown to most Americans there is a union in this oil field area which is a fine example of what an organization of workers should be. It is the Oil Field Workers Union, largely Negro, with a membership of 7,000. Twelve years old, it is headed by John F. F. Rojas and Ralph Mentor. There has never been a strike. All disputes are settled by arbitration. It could well be copied throughout the West Indies.

* * *

Paramaribo, Dutch Guiana: Significant was the election here on May 30 which the National party of Suriname (NPS) swept. Universal suffrage was tried for the first time and the popular candidates won. This is going to be a familiar story in these parts from now on.

* * *

IT WILL PAY to watch tropical America more closely and to know it better. This people are no ignoramuses. They read the papers and listen to the radio. Many of them visit the U. S. A. and Europe, and return to tell what they have seen. Unfortunately they do not know enough about us and we do not know enough about them. We are closer to each other than we think.

By George S. Schuyler (31a Negro)

Views and Reviews

Three Great Figures Have Passed on to the Great Beyond

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier The Editors)

THIS nation has lost three great figures this autumn. Each was distinguished in a different way, but each in his field made a noteworthy contribution in the long and sustained effort of people of good-will of all colors in this country to lessen prejudice of group against group to foster tolerance and fair play, to bring the nation nearer to the practice of the ideals it professes.



Mr. Schuyler

Harry T. Burleigh, a Pennsylvanian, the eldest and the first to die, was one of the world's great singers and composers, and he began earlier than the others to make an impression upon the world. I have an old copy of the Chicago Inter-Ocean of the autumn of 1893, which carries a long story about Colored American Day at the Columbian Exposition which celebrated the 400th anniversary of the discovery (?) of America by Christopher Columbus. The chief speaker was Frederick Douglass, another speaker was Mrs. Ida Wells Barnett, and the soloist was young Harry T. Burleigh, already coming to fame.

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HIS VOICE WAS early recognized by music critics and it was not long before he was singing in exclusive Temple Emanu-El and St. George's Episcopal Church in New York. A thoroughly trained artist, he won the admiration, enthusiasm and respect of the richest and most prominent people in the United States who attended these two great houses of worship. A colored soloist in exclusive white churches is rare even today. It was almost unprecedented fifty years ago.

* * *

Before that, however, Harry T. Burleigh indirectly lifted Negro music to a high plane of appreciation when he became associated with the great Anton Dvorak and influenced him to include Negro themes in the largo movement of the New World Symphony. Throughout his long career as a singer and composer, long associated with a great New York publishing house and as one of the founders of ASCAP, he used and popularized Negro themes, and now, though he has gone, great voices still sing his arrangement of Negro spirituals and his songs based upon the music of his people. One of the earliest Spingarn Medalists, he was an inspiration to countless Negroes aspiring to artistic careers, and it is impossible to estimate the influence for better race relations which this truly gracious and cultured man had.

* * *

FERDINAND Q. MORTON, who was next to die, was a Mississippian, one of the best educated men of his day, a brilliant lawyer and one of the most influential politicians of his time. A graduate of Philips Exeter Academy and the Harvard University Law School, he settled in New York City and was soon one of the most brilliant young attorneys in the office of the District Attorney.

One of the Negro pioneers in the Democratic party at a time when it was regarded as treason for a Negro to be a Democrat, he became closely identified with Tammany Hall under the leadership of the genial Charles Murphy, and founded the United Colored Democracy. He soon won appointment by Mayor Hylan as one of the three members of the Municipal Civil Service Commission. This was one of the biggest and certainly one of the most important appointive positions a Negro had ever held in the United States, and it put him in a strategic position to break down the barriers of color discrimination in city employment. Prior to that time Negro city employes were few and far between, with the exception of school teachers.

* * *

THROUGH HIS INFLUENCE the barriers fell one by one, and as they fell more and more Negroes were encouraged to take examinations because they felt more assured of appointment, and fair play after appointment. In a few years Negroes began to appear everywhere in New York's vast civil system, the largest in the world of its kind. Later under the late Mayor F. H. LaGuardia, Mr. Morton received the signal honor of being appointed president of the Municipal Civil Service Commission where he directed the entire system, which means all policemen, firemen, engineers, clerks, and so forth. It was through his efforts, ably assisted by the eminent surgeon, Dr. Louis T. Wright, that the color barrier was broken down in Harlem Hospital—which was lily-white a quarter century ago. Now the staff of this great municipal institution is largely Negro and Dr. Wright is chief surgeon.

* * *

THE OTHER DAY the famed Virginia-born Bill (Bojangles) Robinson died. Known the world over as the greatest dancer of his kind in the world, symbol of sartorial perfection, with an ever-infectious smile, and one of America's best known philanthropists and ambassadors of good-will and happiness, a million people lined the streets of Manhattan when his body passed.

There are many people of prominence and influence in this country who could not be reached by Harry T. Burleigh and Ferdinand Q. Morton, but whose prejudices and aversions based on color were destroyed by Bill Robinson. A man without formal education who rose in the theatre the hard way, Bill Robinson aroused enthusiasm and respect by the perfection of his art which he lifted to a new plane of appreciation.

More than that, more than the disarming quality of his smile and his tapping toes, was his feverish activity in helping every worthy cause almost at times to the point of exhaustion. Always the showman, his exhibitionism and ostentatious generosity endeared him to an entire nation. He contributed far more than his share to gradual elimination of bias which has made possible the gains we have made. You have to first change people's minds in order to change their actions. All three of these great men did this. Many others today are doing the same. More should try.

The WORLD TODAY

By George S. Schuyler

The NAACP is calling for candidates for the 1949 Spingarn Medal. It would be something new if a journalist got it.

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS Jr., No. 1 Negro Communist, was ousted from the New York City Council last week, following his conviction as a traitor. No one ever suspected that the time would come when a Negro would be convicted as a traitor.

According to reports, the Ku Klux Klan has made its appearance in California. Evidently Dixie is no longer a fruitful field for the hooded order. The Klan, too, has decided to "Go West, young man!"

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Paul Robeson for President in 1952!

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

WHY not Paul Robeson for President in 1952? Of course the next election for a new occupant of the White House is all of three years away, but the events of the past fortnight justify tossing the headgear of the "people's singer" into the ring now. Such booms should be launched early.



George S. Schuyler

Robeson deserves this highest honor in the gift of the American people, not only because he is a great singer and actor (except in the records of the outstanding musical and dramatic critics), nor because he sang (but did not fight) in the Spanish Loyalist trenches, nor because he has been an active member of every Communist-front and subversive organization for the past fifteen years (since his record in this connection is almost equalled by others), nor because he is a self-proclaimed anti-Fascist (since Gerhart Eisler and numerous others have claimed the same distinction); but he deserves the honor because he is the most outstanding symbol of the sharp trend in this country toward the totalitarian servile state.

SHOULD HE BE nominated by the Communist party? While admittedly this would be appropriate, the only trouble is that he is not a member of that party. He has denied it several times, and who would question the veracity of the great man? Nevertheless there seems to be some conflict of opinion.

In August, 1936 (when millions of Russians were being "liquidated" in one of Stalin's purges), Robeson was quoted by Soviet Russian Today as stating: "The Soviet Union is the only country I've ever been in, where I've felt completely at ease . . . By singing its praises wherever I go, I think I can be of the most value to it. It's too easy to go to the Soviet Union, breathe free air, and live 'happily ever afterward'."

On April 21, 1947, the truthful Daily Worker quoted the people's champion as to his political affiliation: "There are only two groups in the world today—Fascists and anti-Fascists. The Communists belong to the anti-Fascism group and I label myself an anti-Fascist . . . I could just as well think of joining the Communist party as any other." But this is a mere expression of opinion.

The same compendium of veracity quoted him on Sept. 30, 1947, as telling the National Maritime Union in criticism of the United States, "This is not 'The House I Live In'." At the Paris "Peace" Conference in 1949 he stated: "It is certainly unthinkable for myself and the Negro people to go to war in the interests of those who have oppressed us for generations." At a Welcome Home Rally in June, under auspices of the subversive Council on African Affairs he chanted:: "Yes, I love this Soviet people more than any other nation," thereby excluding even Liberia, Haiti and Ethiopia!

* * *

THERE IS SOME "Fascist" testimony to the effect that my hero IS a member of the Communist party and thus qualified and eligible to be its standard bearer in 1952. Manning Johnson, an official of the Retail Clerks' International Association (AFL), which has 250,000 members, recently testified under oath in Washington, D. C., that he had been a high official of the Communist party for ten years. Before he quit this patriotic (to Russia) group he was anti-Fascist but by mere virtue of deserting his erstwhile comrades, he became Fascist.

He told the estimable House Committee on Un-American Activities: "I have met Paul Robeson a number of times in the headquarters of the national committee of the Communist party, going to and coming from conferences with Earl Browder, Jack Stachel, and J. Peters. During the time I was a member of the Communist party, Paul Robeson was a member of the Communist party. Paul Robeson, to my knowledge, has been a member of the Communist party for many years. In the Negro commission of the national committee of the Communist party (What! Do they have a jim-crow set-up like the Republicans and Democrats???) we were told, under threat of expulsion, never to reveal that Paul Robeson was a member of the Communist party, because Paul Robeson's assignment was highly confidential and secret. For that reason he was not permitted to attend meetings of the national committee of the Communist party, or any other than broad general meetings.

"Paul's assignment was to work among the intellectuals, the professionals, and artists that the party was seeking to penetrate and influence along Communist lines . . . As far as Paul Robeson's membership in the Communist party, of that I have not one iota of doubt . . . we generally understood he was engaged in certain secret work that was intercontinental in connection with his concert tours." This might explain those "free" singing tours of the Caribbean and the Canal Zone!

* * *

OF COURSE Mr. Johnson's sworn statement cannot be taken too seriously because he is an ex-Communist official and therefore a Fascist, but he was an "inside operator" for ten years. He is a Negro and a World War II veteran with a responsible trade union position, so conceivably he could be telling the truth.

Let us hope so because I want my man to head some ticket and I doubt that he can get the backing of the "reactionary" G.O.P. or of the Democrats (who have so many former Klansmen in high offices). The Progressives might nominate him and he might poll more votes than Henry Wallace did (who couldn't?), but he would need real mass support which the Progressives cannot secure.

So if Dr. Robeson, to whom the NAACP gave its 1945 Spingarn Medal for distinguished service (without mentioning his service to Russia) is to get into the White House, the only party he can head is the Communist party.

I therefore beseech the Politburo of the Communist party to take time off from the treason trial in New York's Federal Court and give my hero an honorary membership in the party so we can get the 1952 campaign under way NOW.

Wouldn't it be wonderful to have a President-elect sing his inaugural address?

The WORLD TODAY

By George S. Schuyler

Two hundred Negro Merchant Marine officers who gave excellent service during the war are now unable to get work as deck or engineer officers on board merchant ships. Most of the latter are subsidized by the Federal Government with money that comes out of the taxes you pay!

THE "FAIR DEAL" administration does not even hire any of these well-trained officers on its Army and Navy transports. One capitalistic concern, the States Marine Corporation of New York, has hired several of these grounded officers. When will Truman's "welfare" government do as much?

Last week the Urban League's Denver convention was told by Frank Horne, one of the last of the "Black Cabinet," that private builders are taking an increas-

ing interest in putting up homes for Negroes. This is true, but the more Negro subdivisions, the more segregation. This is becoming noticeable in many parts of the country, including Southern cities where there has been no housing segregation. The New Deal showed the way with its jim-crow housing projects.

LEFT WING prophets have had a tough time since World War II ended. They hopefully prophesied 8,000,000 would be unemployed by the spring of 1946 and that bloody race riots would inevitably follow the war. Neither happened. This spring they began singing the blues again, chanting the grief about coming depression. Last week Federal statisticians announced 1949 jobs at a peak with 59,947,000 workers drawing pay checks. This is very

disappointing to the Russia Firsters, but satisfying and gratifying to patriotic Americans.

* * *

Population Reference Bureau states that Britain will never solve her economic problems until about one-third of 15,000,000 of her people emigrate. The bureau didn't say where they should go, but the solution is the soundest advanced so far. It would be even better if half of them emigrated. Perhaps they might find welcome in Russia which is always looking for more people (although unable to feed what it has adequately) or to Brazil, Venezuela or Columbia, all of which have a penchant for white immigrants.

* * *

WHAT IS TRUE of England is also true of Japan (whose people should emigrate to Australia) and the Caribbean islands (whose people should go to the Guianas). More and more thinking people are learning that Malthus was a better prophet than Marx. You can only feed so many mouths off an acre of land, no matter what kind of government you have.

* * *

Judge Samuel Leibowitz returning from Israel reports housing conditions "shocking and disgraceful," and that the 300,000 anticipated immigrants may cause trouble for the new state when their sufferings and disappointment reach the boiling point. Any sensible person could have anticipated that. These unfortunates are victims of Zionist demagogy. The moral is: Beware of charlatans promising utopias. We should always remember that.

* * *

THE 30,000,000 aboriginal blacks of India are finally going to get local autonomy. These people living on their own lands and in their own forests may soon be better off than the Indian city dwellers subjected to communist propaganda and pressure and socialist experimentation.

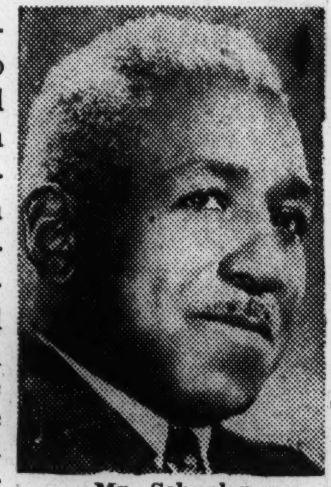
By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

It's Now Possible to Say There Are Good Things in the South

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

IT is frequently uncomfortable and sometimes economically unhealthy to be ahead of one's time but considerable satisfaction is derived from watching others catch up. I have enjoyed the experience on several occasions through the years in the cases of the infantile paralysis of Garveyism, the Liberian slave dealers, the Communist conspiracy against Negroes, the Red-controlled Scottsboro racket, the alleged lack of color bias in Brazil and elsewhere in Latin America, the fictions about "horrible" Harlem, and the so-called reign of terror in the South. In each case an objective and unemotional presentation of fact and logic launched a stream of denunciation from those whose illusions were punctured or whose special interests were exposed. Every commentator worth his salt who sees clearly and writes without fear or favor expects this reaction to debunking.



Mr. Schuyler

IT IS REWARDING to note that just a short year after my series, "What's Good About the South," and my general observations in this place which aroused so much furor, numerous writers have arrived at the same general conclusions.

Charles S. Johnson and Ted Poston aroused the choler of many by writing that things are looking up in Dixie, and Ebony's editorial writer recently came to their defense, holding that they were correct.

James Peck, famed aviator-writer, went down to Waycross, Ga., to write on this alleged "worst town in the South" for Our World, only to return with enthusiastic reports of the liberality and interracial amity observed there.

Last spring George S. Mitchell wrote in The New Leader about the tremendous increase in farm ownership by Negroes in the deep South, the marked decline of sharecroppers, the growth of economic well-being and the noticeable improvement of interracial relations in the remotest areas of Dixie.

Amid the ballyhoo about the reported dangerous growth of the Ku Klux Klan, there appeared a careful study by the Anti-Defamation League showing this report to be completely false with only a handful of scattered Klan groups in existence.

The latest piece to come to my attention on this subject appears in Fortune for December entitled "Negro Businessmen of New Orleans" which tells of "highly successful enterprisers in diverse fields; they do business across the color line and are quick to seize investment opportunities."

It is also noteworthy when a Mississippi college turns down $50 million rather than teach white supremacy.

* * *

PROFESSIONAL PROPAGANDISTS who capitalize on the grief and misfortunes of other people have been quick to interpret isolated cases of cruelty, injustice and mobism as a "reign of terror." Such deplorable occurrences which all right-thinking people condemn, no more prove that a "reign of terror" exists in a whole state or region than does the recent mobbing of non-strikers by labor unionists at the Bell Aircraft plant in Buffalo. In that instance workers trying to make an honest dollar were assaulted in buses, chased to their doorsteps and bloodily beaten in the sight of their wives and children. But nobody contended that this was proof that Buffalo and the State of New York were in the grip of terror.

For every isolated instance of mobism in the South, one can point to scores of fine, new schools for Negroes, scores of new colored business enterprises, hundreds of new homes indicating the lack of a "reign of terror."

To say this is to state the simple truth, but not to condone or defend racial segregation and color discrimination, nor to apologize for racial prejudices. However, if you are familiar with the history of the South and have visited every part of it, as I have during the last twenty-five years, you cannot help but be gratified by obvious changes for the better that have taken place everywhere. You cannot help but notice, too, that almost universally white Southern leaders and spokesmen are apologetic about their area's shortcomings, and are trying to remedy them. True, many have been spurred on by the organized activities of Negroes demanding a better deal, but in many instances such pressures have not been necessary because some whites have made the first moves to better conditions. I am convinced that an increasing number will do so.

* * *

THIS IS NO sudden development, either. There have always been challenges to the stereotype of the old South, and there are more now than ever. Compared with the age-old hatreds and communal strife in other lands where divergent groups live in juxtaposition, the record of the South as a whole since, say, 1910, is a credit to both white and colored. When one recalls the strife in the Balkans, the bitterness and conflict between Russian and Ukrainians, between Hindus and Moslems, between Burmese and Indians, between Walloons and Flemings, between Malays and Chinese, the racial strife we have had in America pales into insignificance by comparison.

For a long time to say this has been to incur the enmity of many and to start a stream of denunciation. But it is worthwhile if the result is a more realistic and objective approach to an admittedly difficult and unparalleled task of adjustment which calls for more light than heat.

I am pleased that it is now possible to say there are good things in the South and that more are in the offing. It is in many ways a good country and it is getting better with the help of people of vision, intelligence and faith on both sides of the color line. Some day even that line will be erased.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Haiti Going All-Out to Make Her Exposition a Success!

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

IT was a privilege to return to Haiti the Oct. 14-17 week-end to see the great progress being made in completing the $26,000,000 exposition celebrating the 200th anniversary of the founding of colorful Port-au-Prince, the teeming, gleaming capital. Fringing the magnificent harbor for two and one-half miles, the shining buildings with their striking murals by native artists, their cool inner courts, the appealing sculpture; the broad, asphalted, flower-lined boulevards; the profusion of palm and cocoanut trees, the unique amusement buildings with their clever use of the former swampy slum area, the fountains with their quaint figures and landscaping — all these make one proud of the achievements of the Haitian Government.



Mr. Schuyler

ANOTHER SOURCE OF pride is the modern methods of promotion by which the tourist-seeking Haitians are bringing this lovely fair to the attention of the world. In New York they have employed the first-class Peter Hilton agency which mobilized the group of newspaper and magazine folk representing the Associated Press, the United Press, the International News Service, Reuther's, the Ladies Home Journal, The New York Daily News, Esquire, the New Yorker, the Metropolitan Group, Coronet, Parade, The Christian Science Monitor, The Chicago Defender and The Pittsburgh Courier. Thanks to the foresight and insistence of shrewd, amiable Herman Desir, Vice Consul of Haiti in New York, the representatives of the two Negro newspapers were included. As his Government's representative, Mr. Desir shepherded the group to Haiti. The inclusion of Negro newsfolk in the party won the immediate approval of Haitian officials from President Estime on down because they are most anxious to obtain the patronage of American Negroes.

THE ARRANGEMENTS WOULD have done credit to nations much bigger and richer than Haiti, and they demonstrated that the officials promoting this great exposition have learned all of the up-to-date procedures. They did the job as it should have been done. Our folks are learning how!

Beginning with dinner in the East Room of the Hotel New Yorker, the journalists, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Peter Hilton and Robert Stivers of the agency staff, were taken by special limousine to the International Airport at LaGuardia Field. There they boarded a Pan-American Airways Clipper which flew them to San Juan, Puerto Rico, where they were greeted by the local PAA manager while pictures were taken, and then escorted to the air-conditioned Clipper Club.

Shortly afterward they boarded a PAA plane for Trujillo City and Port-au-Prince. At the latter's recently completed and attractive airport they were greeted by a delegation of Haitian editors, headed by the veteran journalist, Marceau Desinor, of Le Nouvelliste; Roger E. Savain of the Tourist Department who handled local arrangements, and the handsome Jeane Brierre, Under Secretary of State for Tourism, and Haiti's leading poet. A photographer busily snapped pictures. Each journalist was then presented with a beautiful lapel flower in a cellophane envelope brought down that morning from the Chatelet des Fleurs at Kenskoff, 5,000 feet up in the cool mountains, twenty miles away.

* * *

IN GLEAMING CARS provided for the occasion with English-speaking drivers, they motored to the gleaming white Hotel La Citadelle, high on a hill overlooking the city, whose unique architecture and excellent appointments and cuisine delighted the guests. It is just one of the many fine hotels in Port-au-Prince and managed by Mrs. Elizabeth Roy, charming white wife of Captain Roy, handsome commander of the Haitian Air Force.

From thence onward the exacting schedule was carried through with dispatch. The group went first to the office of handsome Jean Fouchard, Commissioner General of the Exposition; then to see the newly appointed Foreign Minister, Dr. Vilfort Beauvoir, French-educated pedagogue and former delegate to the UN; then a drive through the cool hills to Boutilliers from which immense height one sees the vast and breath-taking panorama of the capital and the Cul-de-sac, and finally to an elaborate luncheon at the Swiss-like Chatelet des Fleurs which seemingly hangs from a mountainside. Returning to the hotel there was just time for dinner before a big press party at the Maison Magloire, Tourist Department guest house, where a Haitian orchestra, singers and the best drummer in Haiti entertained while tray-laden waiters moved in and out among the guests. In addition to Haitian officials, the American Ambassador was present and many of his staff, including Giles Hubert, Negro agricultural attache.

* * *

NEXT DAY CAME the tour of the exposition grounds escorted by the architect, August F. Schmiedigen, of New York who has designed many fairs. Thence to suburban Petionville and the biege-colored country residence of President Dumarsais Estime for a press conference while the economic and social problems of Haiti were discussed frankly by the polished executive. Returning to Port-au-Prince there was a tour of handicraft shops. That night U. S. Ambassador DeCourcey lavishly entertained at his residence. It was a brilliant occasion with beautifully gowned ladies, white-clad naval officers from the U. S. Carrier Philippine Sea, Haitian staff officers and diplomats.

The party ended up at the Cabane Choucoune, a giant imitation of an African hut with native entertainment and an excellent orchestra playing dance music until four. Next morning Captain Roy flew the party close to the historic Citadel, to Cap Haitian and back over Belladere, the new town built by the President for Haitians expelled from the Dominican Republic. An elaborate dinner at DuCosaque restaurant with many speeches, toasts and responses, followed by dancing at seashore places until midnight left the visitors reluctant to leave next morning for Camaguey, Miami and New York. At Miami, to everyone's surprise, Pan American had a cocktail party in its air-conditioned lounge after the usual picture-taking.

Yes, the Haitians are overlooking nothing in promoting their unique, colorful, magnificent exposition. One left with the hope that thousands of colored folk from the States would avail themselves of the low special rates to see and pay tribute to this valiant and beautiful land, the second oldest free nation in the Western Hemisphere.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Exposing Stalin's Chief Stooges in the United States

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

THE conviction and sentencing of Stalin's chief stooges in the U. S. was cause for rejoicing by all real Americans. The only deplorable thing about it, in my opinion, is that the trial was so long and the sentences so short. Ever since the Communist International laid down the revolutionary line in the spring of 1918, packs of these vermin have been busily at work in every country to overthrow not simply the Government but the entire socio-economic system with the plan to substitute therefor the autocratic, goose-stepping, monolithic, slavish, totalitarian state.



Mr. Schuyler

On the record that kind of society has been distinguished by industrial serfdom with piecework and speed-up the order of every day; by a neo-plantation system euphemistically dubbed collective farms; by the bloody suppression of all minorities except the tiny Communist one; by the complete throttling of labor unions and consumers cooperatives; by the persecution of the church; by the jailing in so-called corrective labor camps of all who dared to hold an independent thought; by government-organized pogroms and lynchings that murdered more in one day than have been mobbed in America since 1776.

THERE ARE NUMEROUS fools in this country, (many unfortunately well-schooled and influential) who contend that this trial was a persecution of mere ideas; that all these poor, innocent Communists have been doing has been talking; and that under our Constitution they have a right to talk. Therefore, say these shallow pates, it is undemocratic to arrest, try and convict them for merely holding and expressing ideas. A further argument is that nothing should be done until these saboteurs act, and that there are plenty of laws on the books covering such acts without resorting to the Smith Act under which the Reds were tried and which a loud fellow-traveler chorus says is unconstitutional. Of course the Supreme Court has never said so, although one can never be too sure what that body may do since being stuffed with incompetent New Deal lame ducks and cronies.

Well, when citizens swear falsely to get passports under aliases and go to revolutionary schools abroad to study how to disrupt the economy of their country, how to practice sabotage of all kinds and grab strategic points with firearms, that's not just ideas, that's action!

When the Reds sent their agents into rural Alabama and precipitated the Camp Hill killings, that wasn't just thought, that was action!

When Foster and other Communists set up the Trade Union Unity League and began the destructive infiltration which has disrupted organized labor for twenty-odd years, that wasn't just an idea, that was action!

When the Communists, aided by Ben Davis, fooled the ignorant parents of the Scottsboro Boys into signing them over to International Labor Defense (?) lawyers after the NAACP had prepared to defend them with the best Alabama law firm plus Clarence Darrow and Arthur Garfield Hays, and then propagandized the case into a $500,000 gravy train for Red agitators: —that wasn't just thought, that was action!

* * *

THE INTENSIVE DRIVE of the past fifteen years to "defend" the Negro was a devilish plan to further disunity in the United States, and had nothing to do with any Communist desire for interracial amity. The NAACP was doing an excellent job of defending those Negroes who warranted defense long before the Comintern was born.

When the Reds murdered Carlo Tresca, an anti-Stalinist, at Fifteenth Street and Fifth Avenue, New York; when they snatched Julia Poyntz from her apartment in Manhattan (she has never been seen since); when they murdered General Krivitzky (ex-Ogpu head in Germany who exposed the Comintern murderbund); when they supplied oil for Mussolini's rape of Ethiopia; when they sold out their gullible native African stooges in exchange for diplomatic recognition by imperialist European powers; when they completely abandoned the "Negro struggle" during the war (after Germany attacked Russia) and pretended greater patriotism than the DAR; when they infiltrated every Government bureau and department, including atomic energy, rifled files and sent plans and specifications to Russian spies; when their agents advised Roosevelt at Yalta to surrender the Poles, Balkin countries and China to Moscow; when their trained claque planted in newspaper and radio offices launched the successful bring-our-boys-back-home ballyhoo in order to create a European vacuum into which the Red Army could march—Brother, that wasn't just thought, that was action!

* * *

WHEN THE REDS have time and again obtained strategic control of unions and then launched disastrous strikes that impoverished the membership, the community and business enterprises with no gain to anybody, that wasn't just thought, that was action!

When these people have managed through their stooges to control the movies, the stage, the music world and much of entertainment, and thus been able to circulate Communist propaganda to countless millions, that's action, chum, not merely thought.

Nor is it just merely thought when these people and their dupes stand up in thousands of classrooms from coast to coast viciously undermining the system which has given the masses of people (including Negroes) a better and freer life than was ever before enjoyed. (All right, if there ever was a better society, name it!) No, my friends, that's **action**, and should be suppressed!

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER VIEWS and REVIEWS

Patrick Campbell . . . a Man of Wit and Wisdom

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

PATRICK CAMPBELL came down the other day on the big Socony tanker Vacport, and on that night and several other nights we sat in the living room and drank in his wit and wisdom about the far-flung places of the earth and the ways of men and women in strange lands in many climes. This plain fiftyish, black man, hailing originally from Demarara, knows as much about the world today as any one person I can think of, and yet he is largely unknown and certainly unsung. Only a handful of people hang onto his words while millions listen to the Trumans, the Stalins, the Sforzas and the Atlees, who have not seen half as much nor thought any deeper.



George S. Schuyler

Patrick Campbell is a combination steward and purser on his present boat which ranges the world and just came in from Lagos and Accra. When we first knew him the world was at peace, save in Ethiopia, but the political pots were boiling as usual. That was just a spell then but apparently a good one because he had worked steadily since World War I in which he served with the British Army in Palestine and Egypt. He was working then on an Elder Dempster Line freighter which I later visited at a dingy dock in Brooklyn. He looks little different today than he did then: slender, erect, smiling and laughing frequently, with wise and expressive eyes, and the smooth skin of a youngster.

* * *

THERE SEEMS TO BE no port in the world that Pat Campbell has not visited. We have received his cards and letters from Sydney, Bombay, Aruba, Santiago de Cuba, Port Said, Liverpool and Freetown. But what is more important is that Pat does not see these places with just the eyes of an ordinary sailor but with the background of an intellectual. Here is a man who has read widely and deeply, and likes to share his reading matter with those less fortunately circumstanced who also thirst for knowledge.

When Pat leaves New York he is loaded down with papers, books and magazines which he gives to Negroes here and there who appreciate them. Many a Pittsburgh Courier has found its way far into the interior of Central Africa or the Sudan, thanks to him. My correspondence has told me that.

Pat knows from this personal contact that he makes at so many places, just what the people who can think are thinking. He will be talking with a family in the heart of Brooklyn tonight and a month later be doing the same thing in Takoradi, Dakar or Aden.

DURING THE early days of the latest war we thought Pat was a goner. Ships were being sunk in distressing numbers and we heard nothing from Pat for two or three years. Then came word from a mutual friend in Nigeria, finally a brief note from Pat, and then one night we were overjoyed to hear his voice over the telephone, as full of laughter as ever.

He had taken a vacation for a while from the hazardous seas and gone far into the interior of West Africa, stopping here and there, until he reached the land of the Lemba people where peace and prosperity prevailed despite the war. Upon returning to Freetown he surrendered his bachelorhood and married a local girl, now currently vacationing in Lagos.

Pat has been far into the interior of Nigeria, to the great city Ibadan which is as large as Memphis, to Benin of the famed bronges to the walled city of Kano, to the vast cattle country of Northern Nigeria, into Ethiopia, has stood on the site of Solomon's temple, watched the Russians unload ships at Murmansk and gazed on the architectural magnificence of Hindu temples and the fantastic beauty of Rio de Janeiro. His long nights at sea he reads.

* * *

PAT HAS A dim view of polygamy and the status of women in Africa. Those few who are rich are lazy, the others are slaves working for their husbands. Of the three religions of Africa: Mohammedanism, Paganism (Vodum) and Christianity, he thinks highly of the latter.

He believes the Jew will have in Israel eventually the dominant state of the Near East because the Moslems are unenterprising, ignorant and bigoted.

For all the scheming and undermining of the Kremlin, he doubts that the Communists will get control of the Mediterranean.

He is most optimistic about the future of Africa. There is an ambition, a stirring and alertness there which will ultimately mean dominion states or a large measure of self-government for all the colonies. He sees the prospect to be better in West Africa where the people are best prepared to handle a modern state, but even there the rivalry and suspicion between different nationalities are still so great that independence would bring civil war.

* * *

PAT IS CONVINCED that the United States is so far superior to all countries he has seen that there is no comparison. In no other place are Negroes (and whites) so well off. So great is the gulf between American well-being and the rest of the world that "there is no second best."

Pat is gone again, but ere long will be back with his tales of African magic, of the city of women deep in the jungles where men are held captive until a son is born to be sacrificed by the chief Sorceress in exchange for some of her secrets; of the political intrigues of West Africa, of the ignorance and bigotry of the Australians . . . He is a guest you want to hurry back.



George S. Schuyler

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Recommends Regular Reading of Quilombo, a Brazilian Magazine

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

ARE you studying Romance languages; Italian, Spanish, French or Portuguese? They are closely related, so if you are acquainted with one you can make some headway with the others. There must be tens of thousands of young colored people in the high schools, colleges and universities of the U. S. A. who are studying one or the other of these languages, or ought to be. To them I wish to commend a regular reading of QUILOMBO, a monthly magazine published in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, by colored people for colored people. To the Negro colleges and high schools where there are courses in the Romance languages, I wish to recommend that they subscribe to this outstanding Negro periodical as an aid to their students. QUILOMBO costs $5 a year, and subscriptions should be addressed to the Circulation Department, Rua Alvaro Alvin, 33-37, Sala 711, Rio de Janeiro, D. F. Brazil.

* * *

QUILOMBO IS A unique, illustrated publication devoted to the cause of Negro progress in Brazil. Perhaps you imagine that the Negroes of Brazil have no "cause" in the sense that we refer to the Negro's cause in the United States, but if so you are in error. Some of the problems confronting Negroes in this country also con-



front Negroes in Brazil. The color problem is not as brash and obvious as it is in this country, but it is definitely there, although white Brazilians deny it. Colored Brazilians have a different story.

You can get that story in **Quilombo** each month. You can learn from its interesting pages just what colored Brazilians are doing in the social and artistic worlds. You can become acquainted with the work of Negro actors and writers, and you can find out the extent of color bias and discrimination in a country larger than your own where the majority of the people are what we call Negroes in the United States.

* * *

IN THE MAIN Americans, including our people, are too provincial and narrow. We understand little of what is going on outside our borders because so few of us read the newspapers, periodicals and books published elsewhere. Our ignorance of countries like Brazil is colossal, and what we learn is largely propaganda. The scanty material which is translated and published in U. S. publications is scattering and superficial.

You could not possibly learn anything about colored people in Brazil from reading any periodical in this country, even those specializing in Latin American news and features, with the exception of The Pittsburgh Courier, which alone has devoted extensive space at great expense to keeping its readers informed. Where could you expect to find an intelligent and comprehensive discussion of life for colored people in a vast land like Brazil except in a Brazilian Negro publication? As well except to find reports of Negro social activities in the Memphis Commercial Appeal or the Louisville Courier Journal.

* * *

SO I HOPE that college and high school libraries, public libraries and individuals will avail themselves of the opportunity of acquainting themselves with Brazilian Negro life and thought by subscribing for **Quilombo.**

Like the pioneers who established the first Negro U. S. newspapers, the people who are running Quilombo are not in the business to make money. Sr. Abdias Nascimento, the editor, who is co-founder of the Negro Experimental Theatre, makes his living from the stage and from his writings. The Director General, Sr. Joao Conceicao, is an accountant and the secretary to the head of a large corporation. The contributors are outstanding men and women of all colors in Brazilian life who are concerned about the lowly status of Negroes and want to do something about it.

The principal aim of these people is to awaken and inform the colored people of Brazil about the socio-economic threats to their well-being to give them some sense of background and potentialities to spur them to the accomplishment of greater things.

* * *

OF COURSE the problems of the Negro in Brazil are not the same as those of the Negroes of the U. S. A. There are no jim-crow laws in Brazil and colored people are free to vote. But there are definitely problems of economic discrimination and exploitation, and there is a vicious and stultifying color caste system which expresses itself in many devious and painful ways.

You might sum up the difference between the two great democracies by saying that the United States has a racial problem while Brazil has a color problem. Here a completely white girl with remote Negro ancestry may be penalized because of that so-called one drop of "Negro" blood. In Brazil she would be accepted as white but **she** would draw the line on some darker girl with a little more Negro ancestry than she. The real dark girl is as shunned in Brazil as she used to be in the U. S. A. (and is among some colored groups today!) If she happened to be taken to some swank social affair she would sit alongside the wall without being asked to dance as long as she would have sat in this country forty years ago (and to a certain extent, I am told, today) at a colored affair.

* * *

READING FOREIGN publications is a good way to brush up on another language, as well as finding out what is going on beyond our shores. The more we know about Negro life and thought elsewhere, the better can we understand our own life in the U. S. A. Because I believe we should know much more about Brazilian Negro life, I recommend a regular reading of Quilombo, the best periodical of its kind that they possess.

What the People Think

George Schuyler 'Ain't What He Used to Be'

To the Editor:

For sometime now I have been flirting with the idea of writing you my commendation of your type of news coverage which I consider, all things being equal, excellent. It was your unfortunate and pathetic editorial, "I Love America," with its distasteful inneundo concerning Robeson that finally decided me.

The term "pathetic" is hardly satisfactory as an adjectival expression to describe the sickening practice of Negroes rushing to the fore every time some white man questions their "loyalty" or their good Americanism." This is all the more appalling when the Negro's ranks spot wide open and the magnificent Robeson is accused of treachery to his country and to his people. It is the old, old story of Negroes rushing to acclaim one that the whites have taken up and showered with glory, and with equal alacrity denouncing and traducing the same person who loses the favor of some well-placed whites.

It makes this observer wonder as to whether all Negroes aren't tainted with Uncle Tomism, or at least it makes one wonder whether Negroes know who their real enemies are.

In this respect, I have been saddened by your associate editor, George S. Schuyler, in recent years. I have read Mr. Schuyler from childhood. The protege of the Sage of Baltimore has shaped most of my thinking and ideals. His caustic denunciation of our socio-economic system, his bitingly critical commentary on the feudal South, inspired and electrified me. His "Black No More" was keenly analytical and brilliantly prophetic of things to come.

Lately we have been witnessing a strange metamorphosis. So subtle, so imperceptible has been the change that we have awakened with a start to confront this new Schuyler, apologist par excellence for the status quo. This new Schuyler grunts approvingly when an erring brother returns to the capitalistic fold. This new Schuyler lambasts socialism as a horrible, frightening ogre which perils us all. Worse still, this new Schuyler hastens down South and discovers virtually all is well. Of course, jim crow and segregation are still somewhat onerous and bothersome, but, he comforts us, there is that horrible Soviet Union, that super "slavecracy" which is so much worse.

In the recent election we had the exciting spectacle of Mr. Schuyler aligning himself with other writers of like sentiments, to work for Mr. Taft's election. On this committee of distinguished writers were such luminaries as Dorothy Thompson, magnificent example of a confused bunch of atoms.

Perhaps Mr. Schuyler is growing old and wearies of the struggle? But no, there is Dr. DuBois, that notorious "party-liner" who is still full of fire and fervor and who is much older than erstwhile "two-fisted" George.

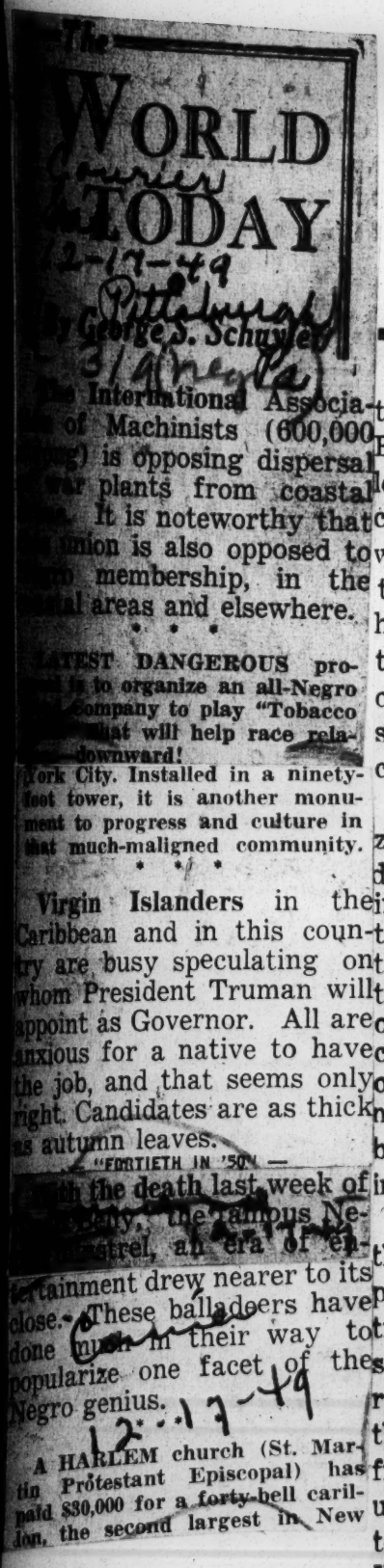
Then there are others who were nutured in that "Black Renaissance" of which Mr. Schuyler was a part, who have "kept the faith."

I fear Mr. Schuyler has been the victim of too comfortable and too luxurious living. He has forgotten how "the other half lives." One hears constant talk of excellent cuisine, sparkling wines and petites jeunes filles; all this to the accompaniment of witty, sophisticated conversation. Mr. Schuyler has turned hedonist with a vengeance.

Unfortunately, the rest of us are accustomed to a more Spartan-like existence and the foregoing is almost completely alien to us. However, one wishes nostaligically for the old Schuyler to inspire us younger Negroes and whites who seek a safer, saner and happier existence.

H. FINLEY TROUPE

Los Angeles, Calif.



The WORLD TODAY

12-17-49 Pittsburgh Courier George S. Schuyler 31a Negro

The International Association of Machinists (600,000 ...ng) is opposing dispersal ...war plants from coastal ... It is noteworthy that ...nion is also opposed to ... membership, in the ...al areas and elsewhere.

* * *

LATEST DANGEROUS pro... is to organize an all-Negro ...company to play "Tobacco ...that will help race rela... downward!

York City. Installed in a ninety-foot tower, it is another monument to progress and culture in that much-maligned community.

* * *

Virgin Islanders in the Caribbean and in this country are busy speculating on whom President Truman will appoint as Governor. All are anxious for a native to have the job, and that seems only right. Candidates are as thick as autumn leaves.

"FORTIETH IN '50" —

...th the death last week of ...ny, the famous Ne... minstrel, an era of en... tertainment drew nearer to its close. These balladeers have done much in their way to popularize one facet of the Negro genius.

A HARLEM church (St. Martin Protestant Episcopal) has paid $30,000 for a forty-bell carillon, the second largest in New

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

This New Year Would Be a Good Time to Try a New Propaganda Line

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier - The Editors)

THE other afternoon I was talking to a prominent Washington, D. C. legislator who hails from an extremely liberal Eastern state. He is favorable to FEPC legislation and the rest of the so-called civil rights program. His position is so well known that it is unnecessary to argue the matter with him. He is a sure thing and has demonstrated it to the satisfaction of all concerned.



Mr. Schuyler

What was puzzling him was why delegations descending on Washington to get support for this legislation continue to converge on his office, crowding in front of his door, demanding that representatives of the groups be heard at length, and otherwise disrupting the work of his busy office.

"Why," he asked, "don't they utilize their time quizzing the Congressmen whose position is questionable? Why don't they try to persuade those Senators and Representatives who are opposed to the civil rights program? Don't they realize that they sometimes make enemies out of friends by such tactics? And why do they use those occasions to go downtown and test out restaurants and hotels for bias? Haven't they sense enough to know that you can only win one battle at a time? Such tactics are associated in the minds of the public and legislators with communism, rightly or wrongly, and so damage the cause of civil rights."

* * *

LIKE SO MANY well-meaning Americans, my legislator friend is amazingly naive about Communist tactics. As in the matter of the Scottsboro case, the Reds and Crypto-Communists really do not want to see any civil rights program legislated any more than Senator Ellender does. That would make their task of destroying the United States by the strategy of fragmentation (sham-battling for "minorities") that much more difficult. So one of the tactics is to embarrass and antagonize friends of programs which are designed to strengthen the nation. That is why such delegations visiting Washington invariably bait their friends and avoid their enemies.

They know very well the effect of such tactics and also the value to them of tying up several objectives together, thus usually insuring that the major one will fail. It gives them a big laugh when some non-Communist organizations try to shoo all Reds away in order to keep the demonstration respectable. It is futile to try to shoo them away (a) because it is their mission to embarrass, capture and/or destroy all other movements everywhere in the world and (b) because other groups are adopting a tactic of the Communists when they go in for mass demonstrations, and the Reds simply will not let them get away with the plagiarism.

* * *

IF THERE WERE sufficient intelligence and ingenuity among Negro leaders, they would let the Commies scream, shout and mass demonstrate to their hearts' content while they concentrated on more up-to-date and American methods. Nothing is more calculated to defeat a cause than to have its champions descend on the capital in nondescript hordes of disorderly, loud-mouthed, insolent and disrespectful people. This is the way to lose friends and stimulate enemies.

We cannot effectively "sell" our cause to the country in that way, and of course the Red conspirators and their intellectual associates know it. Numerous polls show that the majority of influential white people in each community and district are not ready to approve of the desired legislation, so we don't have it. When most Americans approve of such laws, we shall easily get them, and not before. If most of the constituents of Senator George and Representative Rankin favored an anti-lynching law, an FEPC law and an anti-poll tax law, they would be for it, too.

* * *

WE NEED TO use more pictures, facts, figures and propaganda of association to reduce the present anti-Negro majority to a minority. You do not accomplish this end by constantly dinning into the white public's ears that all Negroes all live packed a family to a room; that sanitation and morality are low; that as a group we suffer from lack of personal hygiene; that we are as a group the victims of all the loathsome diseases known to man; that we are criminal and delinquent, and so forth.

It is axiomatic that whichever symbol you are associated with in the public mind will determine its attitude. In that connection our merchants of grief, who have made fat incomes for years presenting the Negro as a pariah who deserves to be one, have been our worst enemies.

This new year would be a good time to try a new propaganda line. This would be an excellent time to educate white people instead of just berating them, while shrilly screaming for greater social acceptance.

* * *

MOULDING PUBLIC opinion favorably or adversely is a science, and few among us seem to know much about it. Any remote identification of Negroes with tactics or groups which antagonize friends and create enemies is extremely dangerous. Playing up the less savory and attractive sides of Negro life simply builds up resistance against social acceptance. Constant screaming of "Look what they're doing to me!" simply inspires the more sadistically inclined to toss a rope or a rock themselves. There is something revolting about these lugubrious and persistent cries for help. It is not only unmanly, but in most cases unwarranted.

An efficient public relations firm provided with a fund of four or five million dollars could make Mississippi more tolerant than Michigan toward the Negro in a very few years—if it could keep some of our self-appointed saviours quiet.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Boys in D. C. Have Been Playing Us for Fools and Suckers

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. The Editors)

IT ought now to be clear to every Negro above the mental age of six years that the Democratic Administration is playing colored Americans for fools in the matter of Federal-constructed and -financed housing. The recent brazen pretense of the Federal Housing Administration that it plans to put its foot down on discrimination against Negroes in obtaining homes proves the point. It is hokum cut from the same cloth as the war-time FEPC gesture as the "no-discrimination" in Selective Service and the Presidential order "abolishing" color discrimination in the armed services which Secretary of Defense Johnson has been "enforcing" so wonderfully. It explodes the nonsense so many Negroes believe that the way to end jim crow is to depend upon Washington politicians to do it; that these smirking, beady-eyed ex-Klansmen, poll tax legislators and white supremacy advocates undergo some sudden change from Negrophobism to Christianity as soon as they get on the Federal payroll and begin administering billions in taxes.



Mr. Schuyler

IT IS RIDICULOUS for anybody to think that the FHA plans to stop playing footsie with the banks and real estate interests on this highly controversial issue of segregation and discrimination in publicly owned and financed residences. It has never done so and never will as long as it exists.

Only last year the FHA bureaucrats expressly suggested the writing of racial restrictive covenants in new housing developments. Then came the Supreme Court decision outlawing such covenants and the FHA pulled in its horns, but did not change its philosophy. Despite its announced change of heart, it continues to withhold mortgage insurance where a builder plans to admit racially mixed groups to his apartment development which would, in FHA's opinion, impair realty values, thus forcing the builder to practice jim crow.

The FHA says the new rules only apply to new construction, which means that racial covenants already made will not be affected. This is what FHA Commissioner Richards says, and he should know. Moreover, the new restrictions (?) will not keep this Federal institution from insuring the mortgages for builders who admit they are going to bar Negroes but understandably refrain from putting it in writing.

In short, the Negroes have been hoaxed by the pious pronouncement of Solicitor General Perlman and the quick endorsement that came from our vacationing President and from the Attorney General. They have been hoaxed so often and so easily that they can see no reason why the colored brethren should not fall for this latest one.

* * *

THE JIM-CROW PATTERN in Federal housing is nothing new under the Fair Deal or its predecessor, the New Deal. Nothing has changed except the brazenness of the Administration in proclaiming its love for fair play where Negroes are concerned.

When Federal housing started with the initial project at Arthurdale, W. Va., in the early days of the Roosevelt catastrophe with the blessing of Mrs. Roosevelt, colored folks were barred. From that time onward the Administration built housing project after housing project "for Negroes" and "for whites" in cities where such separation of "races" was not even requested. As a matter of fact, it set up patterns of residential segregation where none had existed, notably in several Southern communities where the two groups had been living side by side for decades without friction. The Administration showed the way in this connection to real estate interests, and it is to be no less censured for this than the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. For every Stuyvesant Town privately owned and financed, there are a dozen Stuyvesant Towns publicly financed.

In short, what the Administration has been doing since F. D. R. took office is to use the tax money to fix more firmly upon this country the jim-crow pattern. Its wishy-washy policy was directly responsible for the events leading up to the Detroit riot, and everybody knows it. Having built a housing project for Negroes, it yielded to the agitation of Kluxers and turned the project over to whites. Then when Negroes raised Hades, the Administration got scared and turned it back to Negroes. When the latter began to move in the rioting started. Today the Federally financed project in which Negroes and whites are integrated is the rare exception. Everybody knows that. And yet one hears ignorant Negroes talking about what the Administration "has done for Negroes"!

* * *

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY has controlled Washington since Roosevelt ascended the throne, and yet there is as much jim crowism in Washington, D. C., as there is in Johannesburg, South Africa. Neither Roosevelt nor Truman even denounced it any more than the jim-crow Government-owned towns of Boulder City, Norris or Oak Ridge have ever been denounced.

This is Government ownership (the Welfare State) at work. What makes anybody think that an expanded welfare (?) state will be any different?

Will jim crow vanish if we have socialized medicine?

Will the Government stop color discrimination and segregation in industry and commerce if it should take over?

Why should anybody expect it to do so when it has not abolished these evils in the departments, bureaus and administrations it operates and controls?

Yes, the boys in Washington have been playing us for fools and suckers.

The Negro vote in 1950 will show whether or not the Administration has accurately gauged our gullibility.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Courier Sat 10-1-49 Pittsburgh Pa.

Walter White Is Still the Champion of the Negro People

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

THE apparent "outrage" of many Aframericans over Walter White's recent piece in Look magazine dealing with a new chemical which turns dark skins white is one of the biggest examples of hypocrisy noted in many moons. As an inveterate foe of hokum, fraud and charlatanism, I feel the necessity of throwing some light on the psychology behind this attitude.



George S. Schuyler

Why did so many colored Americans rise in high dudgeon over this article? Was there anything wrong about the article? I read it several times and I could see nothing which would indicate that Mr. White was eager for Negroes to change to a lighter shade. He simply reported the discovery of the chemical and used the occasion to rehearse the indignities heaped upon Negroes in this country as a reason why many might want to use it. The article should never have aroused more than a wry smile, and yet many Negroes have become apoplectic about it. They have waxed hysterical over the remote prospect of the color problem being solved in this way and the feeling that White favors it. Apparently whatever sense of humor Negroes might once have had is no more.

* * *

THIS SIMULATED "outrage" is hypocritical in the extreme because everybody above the mental age of six years knows that white is the favorite color (if white is a color) in Aframerica. Everybody also knows that in the past half century Negroes have spent tens of millions of dollars in efforts to lighten pigment and straighten hair. Indeed, this business is one of the most lucrative in Aframerica. It has enabled thousands of colored damsels and matrons to escape the washtub and attain a genteel standard of living. To deny this is to expectorate in the countenance of truth.

So any objection to an implied view that Negroes might flock to buy a chemical which would remove all pigment from their skins is quibbling over a matter of degree. As soon as anyone buys a lotion which will in any way lighten skin, this action destroys any complaint against advocacy of lightening skin completely. If you are satisfied with the likeness that God gave you, you do not criticize Him by trying to alter your appearance in any way. Personally I have long been fed up with Negroes who mouth pride of "race" while parading bleached skin and straightened hair.

* * *

WHAT ACTUALLY is the "pitch" in this case is not what Mr. White wrote, but whom Mr. White married. It was much too raw to say anything publicly about the latter event so those who disapproved of his marital choice jumped with fiendish glee upon the innocuous Look article. When people are too cowardly to cite "the" reason, they cite "a" reason. It seems to me that the real man or woman who dislikes or differs with a person will forthrightly state the real reason for difference and not hide behind some excuse or euphemism.

Amusingly enough, in this case there was no "interracial" marriage. Using an anthropologist's color chart, the keenest-eyed observer could discern no difference between the color of the bride and groom. Most critics of the union on this ground merely brand themselves as gullibles who uncritically accept the Ku Klux Klan "one drop" racial fiction.

* * *

SOMEBODY ONCE commented upon the ungratefulness of democracies. The same thing could be said of groups. For the last thirty years the more articulate colored Americans have been praising Walter White for his uncompromising leadership of Negroes in their fight for civil rights and full equality. In increasingly greater numbers they have followed his leadership and joined the NAACP or supported it in some way. Walter is just as much a champion of the Negro today as he was in 1920. I have been critical of some of the NAACP policies, or lack of them, and I am still critical, but this does not alter the fact that Walter has made a contribution of which the overwhelming majority of Aframericans approve.

Why then the hitting below the belt? Why pick out one article for hysterical criticism when it is perfectly obvious that vast numbers of Negroes would avail themselves of the chance to get whiter if they had the opportunity? Who could blame them? They would merely be expressing outwardly what they feel inwardly! Such feeling is inescapable considering the conditioning Negroes have received for 300 years. Even white folks have been struggling for more deeply tanned skins for the past twenty years, although for different reasons, and they are supposed to have a superiority complex. Isn't it perfectly obvious that if some mysterious force should turn the skins of Negroes 50 per cent **darker**, overnight, the weeping, wailing and gnashing of teeth would be audible on Jupiter?

* * *

THE DESIRE for full civil rights implies the right of freedom to marry as one chooses, just as it implies the right to vote as one chooses and to live and work where one chooses. For Negroes to object to anybody's choice of husband or wife therefore undermines the whole campaign for civic equality and makes them appear inconsistent and hypocritical. How can we deign to criticize the Ku Kluxers while accepting their basic premise?

To me this whole incident illustrates that we need to do a lot of house cleaning. So long as we harbor "racial" prejudices, how dare we criticize Negrophobic whites? If we would have Negroes "stay within the race" why object to jim-crow laws? What has Herman Talmadge got that we haven't?

The WORLD TODAY
Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.
3-12
By George S. Schuyler
Sat. 5-28-49

CAYENNE, French Guiana—People in this currently rain-soaked town speak proudly of their native son, Gaston Monnerville, president of the French Senate, whose position is on a par with that of Vice President Barclay.

There is not much else to be proud of. May is the rainiest month here and it pours down hour after hour on the depressing scene. An occasional ship and four brief weekly visits by Pan-American Clippers both ways prevent total isolation from the world for 11,000 people, almost all Negroes. There is not even a local newspaper.

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SAO SALVADOR DE BAHIA, once Brazil's capital, is also swept by tropical rains now but nothing like Cayenne. Winter days in Bahia are less raw and chill than in Rio de Janeiro but sometimes a light topcoat is not uncomfortable at night. Petroleum products is giving Salvador a much-needed shot in the arm. However, the prosperity has not reached the Negroes.

Despite financial stringency, much new building goes on in Brazil. New office buildings, apartment houses and private homes are going up in all cities. New roads and bridges are being constructed. All proceed with taste and design. Average Brazilian city and better than average U.S. city and better maintained. We can learn much from them.

* * *

BRAZIL also can teach us much about national unity despite persistence of some color prejudice and discrimination. Miscegenation is fostered by the Government and the goal is a Brazilian race, a new type part-European, part-African, part-Indian. One sees this type developing everywhere. Brazilian humor credits Portuguese men with a

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In the Amazon Room of Belem's Grande Hotel, a tastefully decorated modernistic, air-cooled drink-and-dance place, several well-gowned, handsome girls illustrated this new type somewhat like Eurasian but with a touch of the Congo to lend voluptu-ousness.

* * *

THIS WAS again noted in Recife, home of Brazil's famous writer-politician, Gluberto Freyre. In Fortaleza and at the mouth of the Amazon there is a stronger touch of the Indian. In

Modernity of Brazil's cities and services astounds the American visitor. There is everything to be found in the States — modern plumbing, telephones, lights, buses, but not enough to as many as in U.S.A., and a grossly inadequate school plant. Less money spent on the armed forces and more on education would work wonders there. And in U.S.A. too for that matter.

preference for Negro women and Italian women of Sao Paulo State with a liking for black men. It all adds up to an attractive type.

Rio Grande do Sul, the Italian and German strains predominate with something of the others, too. There, too, incidentally, is the most color prejudice in Brazil.

AMERICAN NEGRO travelers will learn more by visiting vibrant Brazil than following the beaten path to broken Europe. The latter has seen its best days, the former has still to see them. Brazil is as big as Europe and has more diversity. Unlike Europe it is not a land wracked by hatreds, feuds, bitterness and hopelessness, but characterized by a new outlook. There has never been a bloody revolution in Brazil. Independence from Portugal, emancipation of slaves, proclamation of the republic and overthrow of the Vargas dictatorship were all accomplished peacefully.

WORLD TODAY

By George S. Schuyler

Rio de Janeiro: Probably more Negroes here than any other city in the world. Certainly more than in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago or Detroit. They are everywhere from Tijuca on the north side to Copacabana on the south side. They are all shades of color but only the darkest are regarded as, and regard themselves as, Negroes (preston). They constitute over [illegible] of the 2,500,000 population. Many of the remainder have African ancestry but are "white."

TRADITIONALLY divided as to pigmentation, they are, equal as to economic status, which is low. In this magnificent and beautiful capital with its modernistic buildings, its sweeping, tree-lined, asphalted boulevards, its swarms of honking taxicabs, buses and private cars, interspersed with jangling street cars and rumbling trucks, its terrific congestion and housing scarcity—Negroes live chiefly in alleys, backyards and [illegible] without [illegible] or sewers. A very small minority lives fairly well.

* * *

Employment is more extensive and varied than in the United States cities but mostly as laborers, artisans, domestics and servants. Colored folk in so-called white collar jobs are scarce, but firemen, policemen, motormen and engineers are plentiful. Otherwise there is discrimination based on color. The towering, shimmering white apartment houses with marble foyers and automatic elevators have few if any Negro tenants.

* * *

WAGES are very small, prices very high. Servants get $25-$30 a month, telephone operators $40-$50, skilled workers $50-$60. Exceptional are salaries of $200-$300 a month, and rare is the Negro who makes that much. Tiny 3-room apartments in fair neighborhoods cost $30 a month up to $50. Swank apartments cost up to $100 and $150 a month. One can rarely get a fair apartment without thoroughly greasing some avaricious landlord's palm with the equivalent of a month's rent. Sounds familiar, eh? It explains why most Negroes live where and as they do, and why less than a dozen Negroes own automobiles.

* * *

Color discrimination does not exist in theatres, soda fountains or in most bars and restaurants. But regardless of money Negroes do not get in hotels like the Gloria, Serrado and Copacabana except on very rare occasions. Nor are they found in football clubs, roller skating rinks and social clubs run by and for whites. The same is true in deluxe cabarets and dance palaces. They may be in proximity to white folks as waiters and musicians but not as guests. Some places for Negroes retaliate by barring whites. Racial camaraderie is on the lower levels.

EDITOR SPEAKS ON SECOND YM AFFAIRS FORUM

The future of "American Negroes in a Changing World" is not bright, George S. Schuyler, nationally known editor and journalist, delcared before the Public Affairs Forum, sponsored by the Pine St. Y last Sunday.

Schuyler, who was the featured speaker, developed a dark picture of the prospect of survival for the Negro in a steadily advancing machine age.

He ridiculed the qualifications of young men and women who have a thorough knowledge of the "Punic Wars", but know nothing of the skills and processes of modern industry. He declared that Negroes must immediately begin to learn the industrial skills in order to gain a solid foothold in the modern urban society.

Sees Starvation

Schuyler saw starvation as one of the basic problems facing all men. Soil erosion and impoverishment, plus the growing dependence upon "ground crops" mean that only one third of the world's population can be adequately fed, he declared. He saw the "Welfare State," as no answer to this problem and urged his audience to develop personal initiatives and to make use of the economic weapons of capital and the learning of skilled jobs to assure the welfare of the Negro.

This was the second session of the annual Public Affairs Forum conducted by the Public Relations Committee which is headed by Mr. Everette H. Colbert. The Forum will continue with other subjects and speakers on the first and third Sundays of each month, November through March. December 4 program consists of a panel discussion entitled, "Race Relations—What Next in St. Louis." The speakers will be [illegible] chairman of the Mayor's Council on Human Relations, Henry F Chadeayne, Mrs. Jenny Wahlert the Rev. Joseph W. Nicholson and Attv. David M. Grant.

GEORGE S.

SCHUYLER VIEWS and REVIEWS

Misleading People to Believe in Magic of Mere Laws

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier -The Editors)

MANY of our professional agitators who might well be termed experts in the economic consequences of grief, have been misleading our worried and distracted folk for years into believing in the magic of mere laws. They ballyhoo and pressure for years, with the backing of their supporters, in order to get certain legislation enacted to hustle the majority into doing what it does not want to do or is not prepared as yet to do.



George S. Schuyler

Then, when they have succeeded in getting these miracle (?) laws passed and decisions handed down, they get a further lease on their jobs by making the welkin ring with complaints because the "successes" they have achieved do not succeed. Obviously if the majority was prepared to live up to the letter of these laws and decisions, they would be unnecessary.

* * *

AS A CASE in point I recently referred to the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court last spring which illegalized restrictive residential covenants barring Negro occupancy of certain properties. This looked like the millenium and there was much rejoicing in Aframerica over it. Undoubtedly it was another landmark on the highway to full equality in the Land of the Free, but it was only a landmark. For every law that is passed or decision handed down there is ready for smart people to get around it if they wish. The whole history of jurisprudence proves that to the hilt.

What has happened in this case is that Negroes are still being residentially discriminated against because they must rely upon white financing in order to obtain homes outside their restricted districts, and these financiers do not choose to make loans which will enable the Negroes to do this It is a good thing to have the law on our side but it is even better for us to have money on our side.

* * *

FORTUNATELY there is an increasing number of intelligent and far-sighted colored folk who are not captivated by the fictional advantages of mere legalism. They know that what counts in this country is not justice and fairplay but the coin of the Republic with which anybody, regardless of color or creed, can get just about what they want. Among these are the Aframericans who have established insurance companies, banks and savings and loan associations, which institutions now have the capital to enable prospective Negro home buyers to escape from the ghettos.

Much was made recently of the fact that a Negro family in Cassapolis, Mich., was presented with the first loan from a Negro lending agency to a Negro family in the insured farm development program of the Farmers Home Administration of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. The company was the Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Company of Chicago, owned, operated and built up by Negroes. Other Negro insurance companies and banks have been doing the same thing with less public attention.

* * *

THE INCREASING number of Negro savings and loan associations have been doing a wonderful job in helping the Negro homeseeker who usually could not get help from white-owned agencies interested in maintaining black ghettos. From Coast to Coast they have been canalizing Negro savings into sound investment. I am pleased to learn that what I wrote recently in this place persuaded a number of Negroes in Detroit who had hitherto held back to open savings accounts with the Home Federal Savings and Loan Association of that city.

From San Francisco, Calif., comes word that progressive Negro citizens there, who are faced with the same problems as Negroes elsewhere, have recently organized the Trans-Bay Federal Savings and Loan Association, headed by George R. Vaughns as president, and set up offices at 1738 Post Street, ready to accept the savings of their people.

JOSEPH H. STEPHENS, one of its vice presidents, tells me that in 1934 during the worst of the depression when most of the Negroes were on relief, a delegation went to the president of one of the largest banks in Frisco which employed eighteen janitors. The group asked him to give some of the janitorships to Negroes in view of the fact that colored people had $2,000,000 on deposit in his bank. The president, cold as an iceberg, rose and told them, "Gentlemen, why don't you take that two million dollars, open a bank of your own, and give your people employment in your own bank from the president down to the janitor?"

Taking him at his word, the San Francisco Negroes have now done just that. Is there anything stopping the Negroes in all other communities from doing likewise? That white-owned bank would not use Negro savings to save Negroes but the Negro institution will. The moral is obvious.

* * *

IN NEW YORK CITY where I live, enterprising Negroes recently subscribed more than a quarter million dollars to set up the Carver Savings and Loan Association which is currently flourishing. In order to ascertain just how much money Harlem Negroes have slumbering in the postal savings banks of the district, I inquired of the U. S. Postmaster and learned that the total as of Jan. 31 was $19,831,370.

If that money was in the Carver Savings and Loan Association where it can work for Negroes instead of being in the post office branches from which it is sent to downtown banks to work for other people, the Negroes of Harlem would be immensely benefitted. The amount in savings accounts in Harlem white banks is even greater. And what is true of Harlem is true of practically every Negro community in the United States.

Mass meetings, publicity ballyhoo, anguished wails and petitions to Truman and Congress cannot solve any of the Negro's problems. Intelligent use of the resources he controls can do so anytime he wants.

The WORLD Tomorrow TODAY

By George S. Schuyler

Jim Crow lost another round last week when the U. S. Supreme Court upheld its 1948 decision outlawing restrictive covenants in residential developments. What we need now is more Negro savings and loan associations so more purchases can be financed in areas outside the "colored section."

LISTEN to Governor "Big Jim" Folsom of Alabama urging improvement of the living conditions of Negroes in his State: "We must remember that which is built upon prejudice or ill will cannot survive in a democracy." Who could say more than that? Of course the Governor has lots of opposition.

* * *

Cause for optimism, too, is the election of William Hatchett, star athlete, as president of next year's senior class at Rutgers University. Just a few years ago such an event would have been called unthinkable.

* * *

CONSIDERING the attitude of Congress against any real revision or repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, Mr. Truman must be manufacturing some choice cuss words to hurl at the 81st Congress. These will have to be extra special because this Congress has done less than the 80th Congress.

Fact is, the whole Truman program on "civil rights" is imperiled, and if any of it passes it will be a miracle. Not even the biggest optimists are expecting any miracles in this direction. Well, it was good for votes when votes counted.

* * *

YOU THOUGHT you'd heard everything? Well, you haven't. The One World citation for "International statesmanship' is going to Italian Foreign Minister Count Carlo Sforza who has been going around yammering for the return to the Italian exploiters of the colonies Mussolini misruled. Next thing we know they will be giving medals to the remaining members of the old Capone gang.

The Presbyterian Church, South, has come out flatfootedly for civil rights in a declaration from Richmond, Va. It urged its followers to assume the educational task of seeing that the full heritage of democracy is given to the colored brother. Where is this "race hatred" we've been talking about? It is so obvious the South is improving that only fools or knaves question it.

TUBERCULOSIS and cancer on the rise in the Nation and recently shocked to find that were so ill-paid. Men are get- displaced persons reset- ting $2.90 a day, women $2.80. in Louisiana sugar cane These are whites not Negroes tions were "crying for and milk" because they

NAACP says New York's State Commission Against Discrimination

A New Orleans priest was

tion is inactive and delays enforcing the State's FEPC law. The commission is probably doing the best it can. It is mighty hard to legislate people's thinking. Laws can do little more than the people want them to do.

SCHUYLER VIEWS and REVIEWS

American Propaganda Can Be Embarrassing

(This column represents the personal opinion editorial opinion of The Pit

MUCH has been made of the actions of white Americans abroad in spreading color prejudice and thus allegedly cancelling out their efforts to popularize the democratic way of life. While seriously questioning the belief that foreign whites are innocent of color bias until Americans come and teach them (having in mind practices of Belgians, French, Italians, British, Dutch, Portuguese and Spaniards against their colored folk), I think a far more insidious influence has been overlooked. I refer, of course, to the disruptive American attitudes and ways of doing things which everywhere undermine the existing traditions, set practices and fixed relationships.



George S. Schuyler

There was, for instance, the Philippines experience. The U.S.A. had scarcely liberated the Filipinos from the clutches of Spain after nearly four centuries of subjugation, than it began talking about granting them independence. This was more than embarrassing to the British, French, Portuguese and Dutch who were together riding on the backs of a third of the human race in Asia and adjacent lands, and extremely encouraging to native nationalists throughout the Orient. Worse, from the imperialist viewpoint, the Americans actually freed the Filipinos. Surely if these brown people were ready for freedom within a generation, what excuse was there for keeping the Koreans, the Indo-Chinese, the Malayans, the Javanese, the Burmese, the Indians and the Ceylonese in political bondage? The U. S. action gave hope to every revolutionist in the Orient.

* * *

THEN, TOO, the Americans have a "bad" habit of paying a living wage wherever they go, and this is most disconcerting [illegible] and white European exploiters of colored peoples. The Americans believe that hungry, diseased and ill-housed workers cannot produce much and therefore it is bad business to let them remain in the normally parlous state of most native colored folk. So when they took up where the French failed in Panama (after muscling that country from Colombia), the first thing they did before starting canal construction was to build hospitals, drain the malarious marshes, make available better wages than they had ever received. Native labor blessed the "horrors" of Wall Street although properly denouncing the double racial standard with which, incidentally, they were not unfamiliar, having mostly come from the British West Indies.

It was the same with the United Fruit Company. When it went into Central America and the Caribbeans in quest of bananas and other tropical fruit, it prepared to "exploit" the hombres in much the same manner: i. e., hospitals, housing, mosquito control, regular and better pay, to say nothing of schools. This was Wall Street in action but it looked like democracy to the ignorant, under-paid, malnourished native workers ground down by the callous and flea-bitten native white or mestizo aristocracy for whom they regularly died in revolutions lifting this or that caudillo to the presidency.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

IN LIBERIA, where Firestone went at its Government's insistence to "exploit" the natives and the country's rubber resources, it planned to "profiteer" by boosting the standard wage from 25 cents to $1 a day. This infuriated the big black politicians who properly claimed that this would grossly disrupt the prevailing wage scale and embarrass native planters who customarily paid nothing but board and a pallet under the house. Firestone had to bow to the Americo-Liberian edict. But he embarrassed the politicos by paying wages regularly, supplying clean and substantial huts, building good hard-surface roads, maintaining stores with reasonable prices and erecting a good hospital. In Africa the word American is synonymous with good and regular wages, proper working conditions, justice and adequate social services.

Sat. 6-4-49

The Arabian-American Oil Company enjoys the same reputation in Saudi Arabia and so does the U. S. Oil Trust in Brazil, Venezuela and Colombia. It is the same story wherever the Americans maintained military bases during the war. The people still speak with fond reminiscence of the free-handed and democratic Americans of war-time whether at Belem, Salvador, Recife, Fortaleza, Trinidad, Cayenne or other places in Latin America or the West Indies. I understand it is no different in Persia, North Africa or India.

* * *

THE OLD CASTE systems went by the board. With more money and more efficiency than the old snobbish upper class, the Yanks were hail-fellow-well-met with all and sundry, sharing their money, cigarettes and chocolate with the raggediest urchin and hobnobbing with outcasts as long as they were comely, accessible and amusing.

Without awe of politicians, impatient of incompetence and tradition, and violently disliking dirt, disease and insanitation, the Americans have taught the American way to scores of millions across the world, whether in England or Russia.

It is this which native politicians fear the most, for how can you continue to sit on the backs of your people, giving them only a pittance, when they are saturated with the American propaganda of democracy and the industrial efficiency which goes with it?

The WORLD TODAY

By George S. Schuyler

Sat. 6-25-49

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada —This island, like the others, is so charming and colorful that one wonders why it is not visited by more people from the USA. Here, as elsewhere, good hotel accommodations are available and the bathing, fishing and sailing are unexcelled. Most of these places, diverse in appearance and manners, are easily reached by steamer and airplane from our land, and a journey to the Caribbean is always more rewarding for us than a vacation anywhere in the Land of the Free.

Sat. 6-25-49

WILDNESS in plenty awaits the seeker in the back country of the three Guianas, much of which is unexplored. There are broad rivers, deep forests, high falls and dangerous rapids to traverse. A few Amerindians remain in extremely primitive state and, in Dutch Guiana, the famed bush Negroes, the Saramaccas and Djukas, descendants of slaves who "ruined" the colony in the Eighteenth Century by deserting to the vast forests, fighting the Dutch to a standstill, establishing societies of their own which still flourish. Their wood carving is remarkable and can be bought in Paramaribo.

* * *

Most rewarding to the out-door life American with time and money would be a visit to British Guiana's vast Rupununi territory. As large as Pennsylvania, it is about as wild as that State was in 1649. This is the balata (wild rubber) and cattle country. There is also gold, tobacco, turtles, diamonds and timber. Latterly cattle have been shipped out by plane but in these translucent waters is ample working likeshops are colored, and even most freight is by small pleasure. There is nothing this for Negroes in the USA. The boat up the Essequibo River facilities open to us are laughable by comparison. the little remaining frontier.

* * *

AFRAMERICANS visiting these regions need not worry about hotels as they can stay in the best. Even the private membership clubs which have the best recreational facilities can be enjoyed after making contacts. The finest beaches are plentiful and available. Swimming

in stores and to see more, especially colored, and even of note. They are in many places

means need not worry about that areas, and are even ignomatter how dark he may be. rant of the true conditions He can get accommodations at in parts of their own counthe best places and may soon be try? They will even tell you hobnobbing with the "best" peo- there has been no progress ple. The folks here see too few Negro Americans and are eager in the deep South, facts misinformed about America since

their opinions are formed from reading the sensational news which reaches them and they are unfamiliar with the diversities and complexities of the USA.

* * *

They are not to be too harshly criticized for that because look how many Negroes there are in the USA who are grossly misinformed about the Caribbean and Latin American

One reason is that these are staffed by white folks few and far between. The officials you look close to meet are practically all colored countries with brief, but you find (if closely) a color erased this within years ago; the lags behind on functionaries are and so are the police.

BUT THE TOURIST with

A Southerner Answers Schuyler

To the Editor:

I am a regular reader of your newspaper and I have noted with interest the recent articles written by your very eminent columnist, George S. Schuyler, under the caption, "What's Good About the South."

I was born in the South and still maintain family ties and interest there; therefore I feel that I am as well qualified to speak of what's good about the South as Mr. Schuyler.

I return there often as a matter of reunion with family and friends and since most of my life and travels have been in that area I can easily affirm his statements of the progress made by our racial group in education, leadership, business, and general aggressiveness toward solving our own economic plight in the tough struggle to acquire the material advantages and civil liberties due us under our American way of life.

Yes, we have made progress in the South. We have palatial homes, fine schools, prosperous business, outstanding religious organizations, great wealth in ownership of land and some assets possessed by people of other races in America. In the South, that is where we stop. Mr. Schuyler, being an honorable man, knows this to be true.

With all our progress we still do not have the freedom of men and although individually we may get along fine but collectively in the South there is no freedom for the Negro.

If as he says, "The South is the best place for the Negro, being himself a Negro, why doesn't he move there?"

HENRY JAMES

Washington, D. C.

On "What's Good About the South"

To the Editor:

The question has been asked: "What's Good About the South?" I live in the South, and these are some of the things I saw myself:

A KKK cross burning to scare colored people away from their homes in Georgia.

In Perry, Fla., a colored man bound and burned with pinewood around him. They put fire to the wood and burned him.

In New Orleans Negroes have trouble riding on the bus.

In Alabama they take Negroes out and beat them.

In South Carolina they whipped the farm hands.

In Florida, the white unions won't let colored bricklayers or cement plasters be members.

Near Tallahassee, Fla., I was there when they took two men from the Leon County jail and lynched them.

These are the things which I saw through my own experience.

WILL HENRY

Jacksonville, Fla.

PAGE GEORGE SCHUYLER!

Three high school youngsters returning from a basketball game near Columbus, Ga., during Brotherhood Week, were set upon and beaten by five armed white men.

The boys, 16 and 17, were said to be among those who had taken part in a Brotherhood Week discussion sponsored by the NAACP and other organizations.

They were made to take off their clothing, were whipped, punched in their abdomens and terrified by pistol shots.

This is the State of Georgia.

Page one George Schuyler. It was he who wrote so blithely that he went to the South without fear of his life and had no more trepidation in entering Georgia than Minnesota.

Adventures in RACE RELATIONS

31a

By AL SMITH

HOBBY

ARNETT G. Lindsay, secretary-treasurer of the Washington Real Estate Brokers' Association has an exacting avocation. His hobby is research into unexplored corners of American history concerning colored citizens.

At Howard University some years ago he became absorbed in the fascinating subject of the bitter diplomatic arguments and threats between the United States and Great Britain over indemnity for slaves set free by the British when they invaded the U. S. in 1812. Under supervision of Dr. Carter G. Woodson, then Dean of Liberal Arts at Howard, he turned this research into a thesis and was awarded the University's first earned Master of Arts Degree. "M.A.'s" prior to his were of the honorary variety

One day Lindsay was driving along U. S. transcontinental highway 40 in Pennsylvania, and discovered a sign pointing to "Negro Mountain." Inquisitive as always he stopped and set about learning how the mountain got its name.

The mountain, a high, broad plateau, extends across the Pennsylvania-Maryland line. Highway 40 bisects it at a point about 4 miles north of the Mason-Dixon line and some 70 miles southeast of Pittsburgh.

Available records at the nearest township, Elk Lick, were incomplete and contradictory. He spent considerable time on this and subsequent trips interviewing old residents of the area and collecting data wherever he could find it. On his return to Washington, he rushed to the research table he maintains at the Library of Congress and checked with historical references.

Any one of the legends he has recorded in detail of how the mountain got its name is an epic. Collectively they agree on the one point that in pioneer days a giant colored slave or servant held off a band of attacking Indians single-handedly and saved the lives of the white men in his party. Wounded, he died and was buried atop the mountain which was known thereafter by Indians and settlers as "Negro Mountain."

Lindsay's "The Story of Negro Mountain" was published in "The Negro History Bulletin" for April, 1949. Representative Cavalcante of Pennsylvania's 23rd District was so impressed he had it reproduced in the Congressional Record for May 26, 1949. Representative Beall of Maryland's adjoining 6th District was a little miffed because Cavalcante beat him to the punch and has prevailed upon Lindsay to turn his additional findings into another story—"More About Negro Mountain," so he can insert it in the Record.

Of more concern to Lindsay is the fact that the mountain except for an inadequate road sign is unmarked. He is urging historical societies in both states to mark it with appropriate plaques such as designate other historical areas. He has called attention of the state and federal highway authorities to the fact that although Negro Mountain is the highest point in the area its elevation is not marked as are elevations of all other high points along the route.

As a matter of fact, Lindsay has acted in the nick of time. A local resident named Davis purchased a large tract on the top of the mountain where the U. S. once had a CCC Camp and has renamed it "Davis Mountain" or "Davis Peak." It is interesting to note that the World Almanac up to 1942 lists it "Negro Mountain," but subsequent issues list it "Davis Mountain."



Wendell Smith's Sports Beat

Dempsey Says He Didn't Duck Wills

CHICAGO—Jack Johnson, the first Negro heavyweight champion, made the fatal mistake of saying—"to hell with everybody"—and married the woman of his choosing. Love was the motivating force that made the famous fighter buck tradition and custom. He defied the pattern of the day, married a white woman and let the chips fall as they pleased.

That decision by Johnson automatically made his Negro brethren ineligible as far as the heavyweight championship was concerned. It was no fault of his. The American folly of penalizing a man for "crossing the tracks" became more popular than ever.

That is why Harry Wills, a good heavyweight, never got a shot at the title. Wills, not Joe Louis, was the man who set the pattern for the present day Negro fighter. In the ring and out of the ring, Wills was the personification of the real sportsman. He was also the innocent victim of Johnson's "frivolities." He was not denied the opportunity he deserved because of his own conduct, but because his predecessor had "broken the golden rule."

When Jack Dempsey fought Tunney for the title in 1926, Wills was the most logical of all contenders. But the "curse of Johnson" was still hanging over him and he never got the chance.

The other day we asked Jack Dempsey why he never fought Wills. Was the great "Manassas Mauler" afraid, or was he prejudiced? Wills was the most logical opponent. They called him the "Black Panther" and for years he hounded Dempsey, followed him across the country and back again in quest of a title fight.

But the great Dempsey was too elusive.

* * *

Says He Wanted to Fight Wills . . .

"I want everyone to understand," Dempsey said when we interviewed him in a Chicago hotel, "that I did not duck Harry Wills. That is a story people have been throwing around for years. I was not afraid of any fighter. But, after all, I was a fighter, not a promoter. I wanted to fight him for no other reason than they said I was running away from him. I wanted to prove that I was the champion and not on top because of racial lines. I preferred to be an undisputed champion."

Dempsey, now a prosperous business man, is currently touring the country refereeing. He still loves the fight game and once a year goes on tour as an arbiter just to maintain his contacts.

"When I was champion," he said, "the No. 1 promoter was Tex Rickard. He bossed the fight game just like Mike Jacobs did until he retired. In fact, Rickard taught Jacobs all the tricks of the trade. Mike just followed the pattern Tex had developed. When the ballyhoo got started and they were demanding a fight between Wills and me, I urged Rickard to make the match. Everyone wanted to see us fight. But Rickard, a Southerner, was reluctant. He was afraid it would create racial trouble. I refused to promote the fight."

Dempsey said he then went out on his own, seeking another promoter who would put the fight on.

"I went out looking for another promoter," he said, "because I knew the fight would make millions of dollars. But good promoters were hard to find. One man, for instance, promised to pay me $125,000, but when I demaned half of it before starting training he didn't have the money. In fact, he didn't have one-tenth of that much money. I wanted to fight Wills, but not for nothing. So we never got together. I wish we had. I'm sure it would have been a great fight. Harry was a fine fellow and I always regretted that he had to bear the cross for the unpopular decision Jack Johnson made with respect to his marriage."

* * *

Today's Stars From Negro Leagues . . .

The three best young ball players to come up to the majors in the past three years are graduates of Negro baseball, Jackie Robinson, Roy Campanella and Don Newcombe; and if you want to stretch it a bit you can throw in Larry Doby for good measure as the fourth best.

That is why Negro baseball must survive. It is the hope of the future as far as Negro players are concerned. Even though Negro stars are spreading out into the sprawling minor league empire of the baseball world, there must be a Negro circuit to continue developing players.

During the recent hulabuloo between the Yankees and Dodgers relative to the productivity of their respective farm clubs, George Weiss, general manager of the Yankees, threw a good punch when he said the Dodgers' farm system was actually the Negro American and National leagues.

"The Dodgers," Weiss said, "would not have been in the World Series if it hadn't been for the Negro leagues. What has their farm system produced? They got Robinson, Newcombe and Campanella from the Negro leagues. They are the only players the Dodgers have brought up to the majors in the past three years who have turned out to be big leaguers."

Mr. Weiss, of course, is stretching a point because he cannot deny the fact that all three spent time in the Dodger farm system after they left the Negro leagues. All three were well-schooled at Montreal before they moved into Brooklyn.

Since Robinson, Newcombe and Campanella pitched their tents on major league soil, Negro baseball has shown signs of collapsing. It is now on its last legs—at least in its present form—and must be saved if possible.

The lethargy on the part of the owners, however, is as much to blame for its present plight as anything else. Despite the fact that they had a poor, unprofitable season in 1948, they have made no obvious move to get down to work and try to remedy the situation. They have not held a meeting since the East-West game last August. They have not even discussed official league business by correspondence. Nothing has been done whatsoever to combat the various problems facing them in 1950.

They're sitting tight, apparently waiting for the sun to come up.

They should be holding monthly sessions now, planning for next year and doing everything they can to salvage their faltering business enterprise. That is what they should do—more business and less yelping about the fans around the country not showing up for games in 1949.

WILLARD Townsend



Sat. 10-8-49

Sees Labor Movement As Best Avenue To Race Goals

The other day I thought of the many people, who, having come to know me, seek to learn, confidentially, just why I have remained in the labor movement. Perhaps my column of two months ago on my morning's mail left the same question in the minds of many of my readers.

Well, in conversation with my questioner, I can speak at length of the many reasons, but actually it all boils down to this. I am in the labor movement for two reasons: 1. There are a few basic needs essential to the well-being of every man and woman in our modern civilization. I, and millions of working men and women—as well as the coupon-cutters—want these needs satisfied. 2. The labor movement, in my judgment, offers the best means of attaining our goals.

Here is what we want:

Job opportunity based on ability; Job security; Decent hours of work; Decent working conditions; Adequate pay; Adequate housing; Adequate health protection; Adequate education; Opportunity to enjoy some recreation and hobbies; Equal voting rights; Protection of civil rights; and, Old-age security.

Experience on my first job convinced me that progress cannot be made alone. Who would help me? Who was concerned for my welfare? Logically the answer was, men in a similar situation. On that job we organized a union. Help and encouragement came from many quarters. As we worked, sacrificed, and struggled together, my conviction grew stronger that only through the labor movement would working people anywhere in the world realize their objectives.

In the railroad industry, for example, opportunity for advancement on the basis of ability is denied Negroes. Under this policy intelligent men and women capable of serving as information clerks, office employees, ticket sellers, stewards, or engineers, are not even considered for the jobs. Discrimination is not directed exclusively against Negroes and other minority groups. A man's religious or political faith, his family connections may be the determining factor rather than his training and experience in securing a job, or being considered for promotion.

But, having been hired, job security is another matter. Thousands of factors, remote and immediate, enter the picture. With exception of a few boom periods, wage earners have endured a never-ending struggle to make ends meet. Add to this the ever-present possibility of indiscriminate firing or furloughing, and you can see the degree of assurance and peace of mind enjoyed by the majority of workers. Union contracts have done more to stabilize job tenure than any other single element in the industrial picture.

There is too the question of adequate pay—currently "take home pay." To me, adequate pay roughly is sufficient money on which to live comfortably—not, exist. I've heard men say, "The company gave us a raise." Rarely has this happened. Primarily, wages have increased because of union pressure, and, even after negotiated, are sometimes nullified by legal loopholes and intricate dodges. A very good example is the case of dining-car employees in the railroad industry.

Before passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act, waiters' uniforms, meals, and lodging, when on duty, were furnished by the carrier. After payment of the minimum wage became mandatory, railroads began deducting the cost of the above-mentioned items from waiters' salaries. This is only one of many similar cases being pressed by organized labor to correct evasions of the law.

Since I have been in the labor movement, I have had a few offers from management. Tempting salaries have been offered, but the appeal of working for "my side" was stronger. The satisfactions gained are greater compensation to me than a few dollars could ever be. Working jointly with men and women in the labor movement to achieve these goals has been an education to me—an experience in true democracy. To have a small part in, to be able to make a little contribution to this phase of human progress is the reason I am in the labor movement.

WILLARD Townsend



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Townsend Passes Up Chance For Greatness

THERE is one aspect of union administration that intrigues me. You are never sure what the morning mail will contain. There are the letters from field representatives, local union officers and plain rank and file members which serve as the foundation of your correspondence for the day; there are letters from federal and state agencies on a host of matters that require attention; there are letters from community leaders and organizations that give one a closer insight into the daily needs of your immediate surroundings; there are personal letters from old friends that give you a lift, and then, there are the surprise letters that give the day a different twist from the previous day.

I had such a "surprise" letter a few weeks ago. It came from the House Committee on un-American Activities and was an "invitation" to appear before that august body for the purpose of expressing my views in the matter of Communism and the activities of its "agents" in the Negro community.

Now that is quite an invitation. It shows that you are getting up in the world. A man's social standing today depends upon the number of committees and courts he can appear before, assert his patriotism and point an accusing finger at this or that communist. With Chambers pointing at Hiss, with the lawyers for the twelve indicted communist leaders hissing at Judge Medina, with the upstart committee in California making a communist out of that delightful and delirious comedian, Danny Kaye, and the sincere, singing democrat, Frank Sinatra, with Hickenlooper trying to get the "goods" on Lilienthal, and with the Judith Coplon espionage trial, it appears that the shortest route to social success today is to have known a Bolshevik yesterday. Chicago Defender

Nevertheless, it did not take long to answer the letter and gracefully decline the kind invitation. "After full consideration of your invitation," I wrote, "I must respectfully decline, primarily because I question the motives of the Committee. My position on Communism in the Negro community, in our country and throughout the world is known by all who know me or know my work. While I loathe the Communist Party and its activities to gain control by placing emphasis on the plight of the Negro, neither can I overlook the smear made on many Americans by the Committee on un-American Activities because at one time or another they have stood up for those things for which our democracy stands. We cannot successfully destroy Communism by lumping it with democracy by attempting to include the

names of people who oppose the Ku Klux Klan and all other organizations of its kind, as communists or communist fellow-travellers." Dat. 8-26-49

"It is because of this," I continued, "that I wonder whether the Committee is really interested in Communism or if they are using the Communist Party as a vehicle to smear, malign and discourage those good, decent people who fight for a more abundant life within the framework of the U. S. Constitution."

I have always felt that these "un-" committees sprouting all over the place resemble political blackmail associations more than responsible committees inquiring into a national problem. They never miss an opportunity to malign and assassinate the character of innocent people whose only crime is a firm belief in the democratic hopes and aspirations of the American people. What they are really interested in is destroying Democracy and not Communism. In this effort, they are as guilty as the communists, and I cannot play that double-dealing game.

WILLARD Townsend



It's Not So Much What You Say As What You Do

THE TRUTH of the above apothegm is nowhere more evident than in recent news of CIO activities. One of the gratifying aspects (among many) of this particular labor organization has been its dynamic support of the tenets of its constitution and the letter and spirit of its resolutions. My particular reference is the legal action initiated recently on two fronts against racial discrimination. Letter Dat. 12-12-49

First, the CIO joined in the appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court attacking the validity of the segregated dining car regulations of the Southern Railway. In a brief filed in the Supreme Court by CIO General Counsel Arthur J. Goldberg, the CIO supported the position taken by Elmer W. Henderson in his suit against the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Southern Railway Company, in which the dining car regulations of the Southern Railway are assailed as discriminatory and contrary to the Interstate Commerce Act and the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Chicago Sun.

Attorney Goldberg asked the Supreme Court to overrule its decision in the case of Plessy v. Ferguson (163 U. S. 537) holding that a state statute requiring racial separation in public carriers was not a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. He contended that the Supreme Court's decision in the Plessy case was founded on the assumption that the Negro race was inferior and, given the freedom of choice, all whites would refuse to associate with Negroes. Commenting on this, he said in his brief: "The assumption is false. The CIO is living proof that it is false. The time has come, we believe, for the court to disavow that assumption and the constitutional doctrine which rests upon it."

Secondly, the CIO also initiated proceedings to revoke the corporate charter of the American Bowling Congress because of the discriminatory practices of that organization. The proceedings were commenced by a Notice signed by Attorney Goldberg on behalf of CIO President Philip Murray and other CIO officials and directed to Ivan A. Elliott, attorney general for the state of Illinois, and John S. Boyle, State's Attorney of Cook County.

It requests that these officials bring proceedings to oust the American Bowling Congress of its corporate charter. The American Bowling Congress is organized under the laws of Illinois. The CIO counsel pointed out that the constitution and by-laws of the American Bowling Congress restricts its activities to teams "of the white male sex." "These provisions of the Constitution," continues the general counsel, "establish the admitted discriminatory policy of the ABC and provide for its enforcement. In addition, this discriminatory policy has been carried into effective practice by the ABC and its affiliated organizations. As for as is known, no non-white bowler has ever participated in an ABC national tournament."

The CIO's Notice requested the Attorney General of Illinois and the State's Attorney in Cook County to bring proceedings quo warranto to forfeit the corporate charter of the ABC, saying, "In the event that you do not do so within thirty days, we hereby serve notice upon you that we shall apply to a court of competent jurisdiction of the State of Illinois for leave to file a quo warranto proceeding on our own relation against the American Bowling Congress because of the matters referred to above."

From where I sit, that seems to be some pretty concrete doings.

WILLARD Townsend



CIO Declares War Against Racial Tensions in Chicago

THAT organized labor is interested in things other than wages hours and working conditions was brought forcefully to the attention of the community last week during the convention of the Illinois State Industrial Union Council, CIO, held here week before last at the Morrison Hotel. Labor executives, delegates to the convention and members from many of the local unions in and about Chicago recognized fully that what affected the community of course affected with equal vigor labor unions. They expressed great concern over the factors that have contributed to the flare-up of racial disturbance in various sections of Chicago. Letter Dat. Chicago Sun.

The most recent of these disturbances took place about a month or so ago at 57th and Peoria Streets, the serious nature of which has resounded throughout the nation. These trade union leaders, determined to end once and for all racial tensions in Chicago, expressed their opinions as follows: Dat. 12-24-49

"We affirm our belief in the rights of all persons to adequate housing on a non-segregated basis; to live where they choose; and to invite to their homes, friends of their own choosing. The responsibility for the protection of people in these rights lies squarely with the police department. In the 57th and Peoria situation they failed completely to disperse the crowds until four days after the original incident had occurred. They were then ordered to disperse the crowds, close the bars and deal with a mob which had long since become violent. The Police Department has acted with amazing speed in the past when strikes and picket lines were involved. Race tension situations have far more dangerous implications for the community as a whole, than any strike, however violent.

"The Mayor and the Police Commissioner have finally issued statements regarding the handling of future near-riot situations. While these statements leave something to be desired in their spelling out of the rights of Chicago's citizens, they call squarely for the dispersal of groups gathered to demonstrate antagonism against a person or his property because of that individual's race, religion or national origin. We support these statements and commend the Mayor and the Chief of Police for this action.

"We call upon the Police Commissioner to see to it that every officer in a supervisory capacity is well acquainted with the steps required under Circular Order No. 438, so that the graceful conduct of the police at 57th and Peoria will repeated again. These steps must include:

"(a) Immediate dispersal of any crowds gathered to demonstrate against a person or his property because of race, religion or national origin.

"(b) Immediate arrest and charge of individuals or groups who refuse to disperse and incite others to riot.

"(c) Specific instructions to every officer in the Police Department covering the city, state and federal statutes governing disorderly conduct, unlawful assembly and incitement to riot.

(d) Constant counsel between the Police Department and Commission on Human Relations on all such matters.

"CIO has recommended before, and we reaffirm our position on professional human relations training for all members of the police force. We urge that a program of training be introduced immediately. We pledge our fullest support to the Chicago Commission on Human Relations in the excellent and tireless job that they are doing in this field. We urge the Mayor and the City Council, as soon as possible, to strengthen and expand the Commission on Human Relations so that their work may be even more effective.

"We urge all CIO Local Unions in the Chicago area to work with the Committee to Abolish Discrimination of the Chicago Industrial Union Council and the Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination, so that our efforts, as citizens, may be coordinated effectively to prevent a recurrence of such near-riot situations."



New York City Silent Partner In Stuyvesant Town Jim Crow

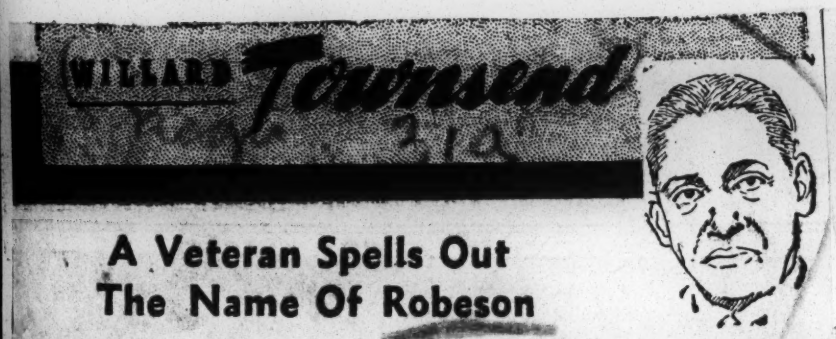
A NEW AND EVEN more menacing form of discrimination in housing has appeared on the horizon. This is the ominous meaning of a recent decision of New York State's highest court. Upholding the right of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company to restrict Stuyvesant Town, its vast housing project on New York's colorful East Side to "whites only," the Court has given a green light to a form of discrimination potentially more devastating than any known before. Today Stuyvesant Town, consisting of eighteen square blocks and housing almost 25,000 people, stands as a gigantic monument to segregation. Should the United States Supreme Court uphold this decision, new "Stuyvesant Towns" will be springing up all over the country.

That Metropolitan Life, like other big real estate interests, favors segregated housing is not too surprising. What is new in the situation is the fact that the City of New York is Metrooplitan Life's silent partner in its campaign to bar Negro tenants. The profit that Metropolitan Life is making and will continue to make from its housing venture is directly dependent upon and tied to the concessions that the City Fathers have granted. These include an enormous tax exemption of fifty-five million dollars and a title to the land for less than cost. In effect these subsidies make Stuyvesant Town a semi-public project. Yet Stuyvesant Town is not bound by the city ordinance which forbids discrimination and segregation in public housing projects because it is "private property." All the taxpayers, Negro, white, Jew and Gentile foot the bill; but some taxpayers—those who are Negro—are denied the right to enjoy the benefits of something they have helped pay for. Furthermore, today it is one minority that has been excluded: But tomorrow, in New York's Stuyvesant Town and elsewhere, other minorities may suffer the same fate.

The severe housing shortage has put a big stick in the hands of Metropolitan Life and other powerful real estate interests. They are demanding special financial and legal privileges from the cities and states as a condition for building sorely needed housing. What they want is a "welfare State," not for the ordinary worker and citizen but solely and exclusively for themselves. And in New York City, they have succeeded—with the consent of the state courts—in dragging the city government into an enterprise that is altogether anti-democratic and against the public interest.

Should Big Business be allowed to carry through its kind of urban redevelopment, what will happen is not hard to see. As Charles Abrams, the noted housing expert, points out in the November issue of the magazine, "Commentary," Negroes will be pushed from the over-crowded and substandard slums in which they now live into areas where the housing is even more disgraceful and inhuman.

America needs housing; needs it very badly. But that doesn't mean that Big Business should be granted the sovereign power to violate the democratic way of life which organized labor has fought so hard to extend. We need and want housing, but housing that is free of the blight of discrimination and segregation. The new and unholy alliance between "private enterprise" and government in the field of housing must not go unchallenged.



A Veteran Spells Out The Name Of Robeson

IN one of my very recent columns, I expressed my point of view on what I believe to be a very untimely statement made by Paul Robeson. Mr. Robeson, as it is well known, pointed out that Negroes in America would not bear arms against the Soviet Union.

As proof of the irresponsibility of this statement, I am passing on the following letter which I received from a veteran who has fought and become partially incapacitated in defense of democracy:

+ + +

"Dear Mr. Townsend:

"As you have so well stated, Mr. Robeson must be firmly convinced that his beliefs are well founded. That being the case, I am firmly convinced that he would not favor having his name 'spelled out' thusly:

"P—Is for the PATIENCE of our PEOPLE.
"A—Is for the ACID tests we've borne.
"U—Is for the UNIVERSE we're part of
"L—Is for the LABORS we have shared.

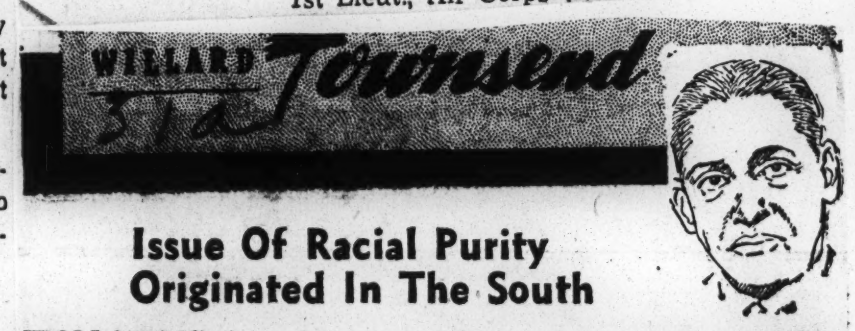
"R—Is for the RIGHT we'll always fight for.
"O—For OH how desperately we strive
"B—For BASIC Democratic tenets
"E—ETERNALLY keep them alive.
"S—No SECRET formula for freedom
"O—For ONLY citizens are we
"N—NO NEVER NULLIFY the NEGRO
"For ONE Paul Robeson's 'TENOR'—I Decree!!

"Your appraisal of Mr. Robeson's Social and Political antics leaves little to be desired. My thinking is provoked by his statements regarding American Negroes' active participation in defense of our country.

"For the record, may I inform you that in the all too recent, and ever present conflict, I served 42 months in uniform, twenty of these months in various hospitals in Italy and the U. S. after having been shot down over Cassino, Italy. As a member of Col. B. O. Davis Jr.'s 'Fighting' 99th (often a subject of controversy itself), it was impossible to avoid the cataclysmic physical and mental and forces which at one time or another, converge on America's fighting men. Once having been so exposed (and despite many subsequent rebuffs of the freedoms for which we fought), I can reasonably perceive only a negligible minority of American citizens who would refuse any such future challenge.

"Acceptance of refusal of such a charge would, in my case, be determined by a system of credits and debits. Unquestionably, I should have ample weights for each side of the balance. Yet to some degree, this evaluation is a daily chore for many Negroes, and I believe the record will show—from Crispus Attucks to Dorie Miller—a tremendous and irrevocable advantage for support of America, a desire for an enlightened, progressive and 'Fair Dealing' rather than a tolerant America to be sure, but FOR AMERICA.

"Yours very truly,
"John S. Sloan
1st Lieut., Air Corps (Retired)"



Issue Of Racial Purity Originated In The South

FOLLOWING through on our column of last week, we would like to point out that the ludicrous and hypocritical issue of "racial purity" is primarily southern in its origin, and results from a two-century-old system of socially accepted, but legally irresponsible sex relations between the white southern planter, his son and their Negro mistresses.

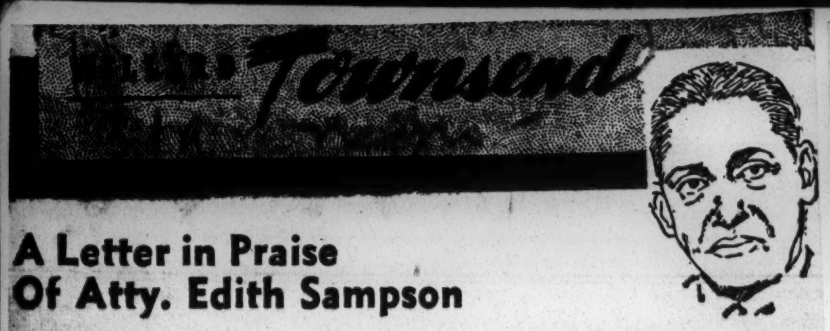
Within the context of southern society, it has been traditionally permissible for a white man to practice polygamy (provided the second woman was a Negro) without affecting his status in the community or before the law. In many instances, two families have been reared in close proximity to each other; one the legal and socially accepted white wife and family, and the family of the Negro mistress which is denied legal claim and social status.

Interestingly enough, what many southerners of today often refer to or boast of as their "black mammy" as a method of establishing their southern "aristocratic" lineage, is in point of fact, revealing a great deal more about their father's polygamous past and mother's life of anguish and frustration than they would really want their friends to assume. The nostalgic "black mammy" tradition in the southern plantation system, obscure, in a great number of cases, an odious design of continuing extra-marital relations that could only flourish in a socially static environment which is besieged on all sides by a cultural deficiency and supported by the ever present threat of terror and the supine acquiescence of the southern Protestant church.

Although the polygamous aspect was not suggested, Lillian Hellman's excellent play "The Little Foxes" and its dramatic flash-back, "Another Part of the Forest" pin-pointed the sterility of southern culture and its disintegrating influence upon the family. Cora, in "Another Part of the Forest," as in many real life instances could easily have been the black mistress in her younger and more comely years. If she had been a mulatto, her chances of escaping this dubious honor would indeed have been non-existent. In real southern life she would have nursed her own child by the white master of the manor as well as the legitimate children by the legal wife. Both her child and the children of the legal wife would have been reared together to a certain age. At one point a bit of social irony would have been introduced when she began to train her own child to recognize his restricted place in life and to instruct the legitimate children of the "Big House" in the superficial manners and graces of southern society. In the absence of any legal or social threat to her secured position, the lady of the manor accepted her dark rival as a necessary human convenience which released her from many of the tedious sex demands of her husband.

While in many instances the manorial mistress may have experienced some fundamental misgivings of conscience on the lack of virtue and modesty in the dual sex relationship, her inferior socio-legal position, although higher than that of her sexual rival but decidedly lower than that of her husband in the community, often reduced these primary doubts to pathological complexes. Herein lies one of the great 19th century social tragedies of southern upper class white womanhood: A tragedy that presented itself in the wife's legal inability to challenge this system of inter-racial sex duality on moral, social or personal grounds. The tragedy deepened as the system tended to obscure the more hideous realities of informal polygamy, and left in it wake an aggressive frustration on the part of southern upper class female, that pock-marked the normal relations of many southern families.

Consequently, we have the basis for the old southern saying which contends that the two people enjoying the greatest amount of personal freedom in the south are the "white men and Negro women."



A Letter in Praise Of Atty. Edith Sampson

LAST WEEK in the Celtic Room of the Hotel Sherman here in Chicago, it was my privilege (and I do consider it a privilege) to have lunch with a most gracious lady, a lady for whom I have a very deep affection, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune. During the course of our conversation, she passed on to me a letter she had just received from Chester Williams, a very important person in the U. S. Department of State. The letter was in regard to another favorite person of mine, Edith Sampson. I felt so thrilled over the contents of the letter that I implored Mrs. Bethune to let me pass it on to my readers. Here it is.

Karachi, Pakistan
August 12

Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune,
National Council of Negro Women,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Friend Mary:

While waiting here in the Karachi airport for the plane to Delhi, I thought I would drop you a note about Edith Sampson before my vivid impressions might be blurred. From beginning she has been a terrific member of our group. Everybody loves her and is delighted to have such a fine-spirited woman as a companion on this tour. At various times along the way she has risen to the occasion with just the right note and important expressions of the views of her people.

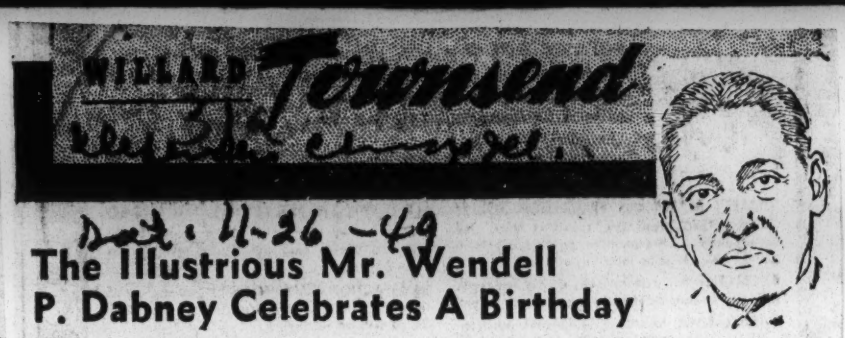
In Berlin she was such a good sport that she struggled through a broadcast in German with Mrs. Buck of the General Federation and Miss Strauss of the League of Women Voters as the guest of a leading woman broadcast, a Frau Leber—and she answered the Robeson line with a sweet-spirited remark appreciating his cultural accomplishments and pointing out that on political matters he spoke only for himself—while she could speak for a membership of 800,000 Negro women.

I could recite many instances to show how important to our general cause of expanding democracy in the world the presence of Edith on this tour is, but I wanted to mention just one that happened today . . . First, she responded to a question about Negroes in America by giving a sincere statement of her own struggles and the life of Mary Bethune as evidence of both the difficulties and the opportunities in America. She so impressed the Pakistan women leaders there that they expressed the desire to pay her way 'round the world as a gift of appreciation for her visit. She did not turn it down in a flustered way, but with wonderful courtesy, knowing that a gift is not to be rejected in the East, accepted it and then asked the ladies to do her the honor of accepting the same amount from her for their social service work in Pakistan. In addition to that she invited them to become honorary members of the Council which they accepted, embracing her with tears in their eyes.

I can't begin to tell you what it means to me to have Edith with us . . . I wish we might have had you with us, but you must know that Edith has been a wonderful second choice. Best of health to you.

Much love to you,
s. Chester
Chester S. Williams,
Director, World Town Hall Seminar

I had the pleasure of talking with Edith before she left, and I envisaged just this sort of reaction, because of her brilliance, her exceptional training and that unusually rare faculty of knowing how to get along with people. Chicago, in fact, America is justly proud of Edith Sampson.



The Illustrious Mr. Wendell P. Dabney Celebrates A Birthday

ON THURSDAY, November 3, 1949, Cincinnati celebrated the birthday of its most illustrious citizen, Wendell Phillips Dabney. From throughout America, eminent well-wishers of Mr. Dabney participated in the celebration with the home town folks. Dr. Carl G. Roberts, who could not attend because of illness, sent a most interesting and inspiring message. It is so good that I am constrained to pass it on to you.

Chicago 15, Illinois
November 3, 1949.

Dear Sir Dabney:

Is it possible that another year has rolled around and still finds you so young and me so old on your eighty-fourth birthday? Even my typewriter almost refuses to record such a paradox as I send my heartiest congratulations.

You walk sprightly and erect as a soldier with a ramrod in his back. One would think there is still lime enough in your backbone to whitewash all your sins. (And brother, that would require a lot of lime.) You still dare Chicago's coldest weather with nothing warmer than a well tried suit of clothes over your underwear. Maybe it's the color of the underwear that repels the cold and keeps you warm, but I do not know of another octogenarian anywhere who has the courage to be so youthful and the stamina to succeed in doing it.

You still insult your long-suffering stomach with the same awful concoctions of food and drink. Most miraculous of all, you seem to thrive despite mixing your special slumgullion and bad whiskey, which are about as compatible as a Bengal tiger and African lion. Eating any kind of food, including that cooked by yourself, at all hours of day and night; drinking anything available except water and kerosene, yet in lieu of anything better your stomach seizes upon such material and eagerly digests it as if it were manna from heaven while a John D. Rockefeller was restricted to milk and crackers.

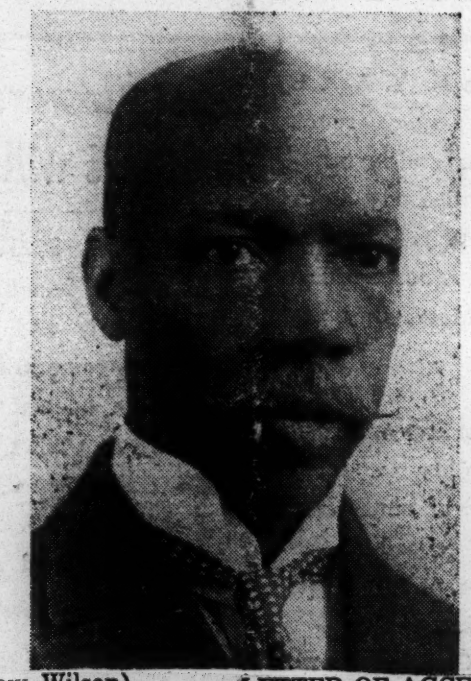
You violate and flout all medical rules and at eighty-four can strut like a youth of twenty-four, rivaling Methuselah. I obeyed all the rules while practicing medicine and before I was fifty-four had to go to bed and stay more than seven years. Maybe you had better send me some slumgullion for a change.

Seriously: I wrote to the Committee in charge of the testimonial in your honor. I deeply regret my inability to be there and join in honoring one so richly deserving as you are. I am grateful for the invitation. Congratulations and every good wish for your continued good health, happiness and success.

Your admirer and friend,

CARL ROBERTS

A GREAT BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION, IS ON THE WAY, EDITOR DABNEY WILL BE 84, THE RECORDS SAY.



(By Bartow Wilson)

Taking note of the 84th anniversary of the birth of Wendell Phillips Dabney, editor of the (Cincinnati) Union, over 42 years old hit "many accomplishments and outstanding contributions to the cultural and progressive development of the Queen City," a group of 90 leading citizens, headed by Horace Sudduth, prominent real estate broker and president of the National Negro Business League, is sponsoring a testimonial dinner and birthday party for the widely known octogenarian at the Manse Hotel Ballroom, Thursday evening, November 3, according to announcements issued this week.

ROSCOE C. SIMMONS, CHICAGO TRIBUNE COLUMNIST, FRATERNAL LEADER AND NATIONALLY KNOWN ORATOR, WILL BE THE PRINCIPAL SPEAKER. A LIFE-LONG FRIEND OF EDITOR DABNEY AND A SPECIAL WRITER FOR THE UNION, SIMMONS, IN HIS LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE, STATED, "I ACCEPT JOYFULLY, HOWEVER, WITH PARDONABLE FEAR, FOR EVEN SHAKESPEARE WOULD ENCOUNTER LIMITATIONS IF CALLED ON TO EXAMINE AND PAINT THE CAREER OF THIS ILLUSTRIOUS AND REMARKABLE MAN . . . IN REMEMBERING DABNEY, CINCINNATI HONORS ITSELF."

Former head paymaster for the City of Cincinnati, Editor Dabney taught music in the studio of the Rudolph Wurlitzer Company and numbers his former students members of the wealthiest and most aristocratic families of Cincinnati. Achieving considerable recognition as a poet, journalist, musician, composer and political leader, Dabney authored several books. His "Cincinnati's Colored Citizens," dealing with early Cincinnati generally and the Negro particularly is referred to by attaches of the Main Library as "one of the most valuable and widely read reference works on the shelves of that institution." "The Life of Maggie L. Walker," enjoyed a wide distribution in its two editions. His several instruction books for the Rudolph Wurlitzer Co. attained wide circulation. One referred to him as "the world's greatest guitarist."

About 300 men and women from Cincinnati and over 50 from other leading cities make up the selected invitational list for the affair. The "soup to nuts" menu includes a varied assortment of liquors, wines and other beverages.

Walter White's Skin Bleach Ideas Fail To Get Favorable Reception

Defender clipping of Sat. 8-27-49

By LILLIAN SCOTT

NEW YORK—The nation's chemists might as well come out of those laboratories, judging from the reaction here, ranging from the man-in-the-street to prominent Negro spokesmen, to the possible chemical solution of the race question by bleaching dark skins light, posed by Walter White in the August 16 issue of Look Magazine.

A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, dubbed the proposal, "wholly fantastic." The union leader added, "I do not share the faith of Mr. White in the virtue of a chemical solution to the Negro problem."

White, now on leave as executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, reported in Look that scientists had discovered, during the war, that monobenzyl ether of hydroquinone turned dark skins light by removing the pigment, melanin, from the skin.

Admitting that science had still to work out the details, including the safety of those using the new chemical, White asked, "Consider what would happen if a means of racial transformation is made available at reasonable cost."

At the conclusion of his article, he declared, "It is virtually certain that the discovery will bring in a new era. No longer will skin color be a criterion of human ability and acceptance Monobenzyl may do more for race relations than any other scientific discovery to date."

John H. Sengstacke, publisher of the Chicago Defender, was quoted in the Look article as being skeptical of the popularity of the chemical. He said, "Negroes are proud of their heritage and do not want to lose it by merging with the white world. They want first-class citizenship, not second-class, as Negroes."

This opinion was echoed repeatedly in New York. Lester Granger, of the National Urban League, termed the article something less than a valuable contribution to the discussion of the racial question. Those Negroes I know," Granger continued grimly, "are concerned with the question of how to protect their standing in America as Negroes and are not thinking about resigning from the colored race."

Dr. Channing Tobias of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, declared, "In spite of the premium that white people may put on color, Negroes are not interested in achieving freedom from discrimination by resorting to any such fantastic means as changing one's color." Sardonically, Granger suggested that Negroes will continue to lose their pigmentation, not by chemical action, but as "whites continue to absorb it through the process of amalgamation."

Roy Wilkins, acting executive secretary of the NAACP, was asked if he thought a solution by chemistry was likely to have any immediate affect on the race problem. "I'd say no," Wilkins answered firmly.

The same views were given by less well-known people, like dark-complexioned Mrs. Flossie Bryant who was asked her opinion in a beauty shop. "I wouldn't use any chemical because it would affect your insides. So long as I'm dark I like it like this, and I'm going to stay like this!" Mrs. Bryant declared.

Dixie Fortune felt the same way. Pretty, coffee-colored Dixie murmured with a smile, "Just let me keep my little race brown." Angli Disraeli, a young Negro of Haitian extraction, said he wouldn't use a bleaching chemical.

We found one man who was indecisive on the chemical. He said "I wouldn't use it," but after a moment's thought, he added, "unless everyone else did. I wouldn't want to be left alone as the world's only Negro."



WALTER White

Southerners' Hypersensitivity To Criticism On Increase

THE hypersensitivity of Southerners to criticism grows with gratifying speed. Hodding Carter, editor and publisher of the Delta Democrat-Times of Greenville, Mississippi, recently wrote a lengthy article in **Collier's** entitled "New Rebel Yell in Dixie" in which he records what is being done by Southern white liberals as a means of proving that the South isn't as bad as recent news dispatches make it out to be. Mr. Carter, however, conspicuously omits mention of the fact that the chief motivation back of the charges he hails was initiated and in very large measure conducted wholly and solidly by Negroes.

But it wasn't Hodding Carter I had in mind as being hypersensitive. Recently I wrote a syndicated column about LOST BOUNDARIES, which is not only the finest film made to date about Negroes but one of the best and most honest moving pictures I have ever seen on any subject. A Birmingham insurance man became violently excited about that column and another one I had written about the Ku Klux Klan in Birmingham. He has written a most passionate letter of protest to the New York Herald Tribune characterizing my columns as "further evidence of determined effort to besmirch the good name of the South." Parenthetically, it would appear to me that so good a job has been done in besmirching the South by the Kluxers that it would be carrying coals to Newcastle for any of the rest of us to add to the successful efforts already consummated.

But how does this gentleman argue his case? He does not deny the truth of the facts in the two columns I wrote. Instead he tells a lurid story of arriving in New York by plane and of being detoured on his way to his hotel by uniformed policemen. He claims he made inquiry and was told that during the afternoon a Negro family (Negro spelled with a small "n") had attempted to move into an apartment building whose white occupants had thrown the Negro family's belongings into the street.

Having heard of no disorder, I checked with Inspector Flath of the staff of the Commissioner of Police of New York City. Inspector Flath informs me that he has thoroughly checked all of the records for several months back and found that no such episode has ever occurred.

Then the Birmingham booster goes on to talk about the slums of New York, Cleveland, Detroit and Chicago and tells how appalled he has been by seeing the conditions under which Negroes live. But with the singular lack of logic which seems to afflict so many Southern whites when they discuss the race ques-

te one very significant difference—that even if
nt of a riot in New York City were true, New
en were on the job to protect Negroes and to
hile in Birmingham and many other Southern
e either apathetic at best or at worst members
huts his eyes vigorously to the slums of Bir-
terrorism there to keep Negroes in the slums.
t that bad as living conditions are for Negroes
cities, and no one in his right mind would
least Negroes can fight, use their vote, work at
lified to do with less restrictions than in the
heir children to schools where there is no per
in the amount of money spent for the educa-
with children of other races.

imax he concludes his diatribe with the state-
e world hates a hypocrite," and the gentleman
at is a one-way adage which is not applicable



Foreign Peoples Curious About U. S. Race Question

CALCUTTA, INDIA — This is the fifteenth major city in which the 'Round the World Town Meeting of the Air has visited to date, from ten of which Town Meeting has been broadcast. To the amazement of many of the members of our party, and occasionally to their consternation, the most caustically and frequently asked question, and usually the very first, has been about the race question in the United States. During a seminar on education in Ankara, Turkey, one of the Turkish speakers asked bluntly, "What are you educators doing to implement the International Charter of Human Rights which your country has signed?" At Karachi in Pakistan, eight or ten of the thirty or so questions asked during and after the broadcast were about the inconsistency of the U. S. talking so much about democracy and freedom while lynching and segregation continue in America.

The Delhi **Statesman** featured two stories on its front page the day of our arrival. One told the story of the purpose of the Town Hall tour to promote "tolerance, reason, justice." The other related the gory facts of the bombing of Negro homes in Birmingham, Ala. The juxtaposition and prominence of the two news stories came to mind the following evening when one of our party told the witty and brilliant governor general of India, Shri Rajagopalachari, that we had come to India to "learn." "That's the trouble with you Americans," he remarked gaily. "You're always going around telling lies."

In Turkey, Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Pakistan, India and other countries where a large percentage of the population is dark-skinned we heard over and over again the statement made by a brilliant young Egyptian who said, "Many of our students want to go to the United States to study but are afraid because they have heard so much about racial discrimination there. They go instead to England, Russia or other countries where they won't be barred from or insulted in public places."

In several respects, the most valuable salesman of American democracy on the Town Hall tour has been Mrs. Edith Sampson of Chicago, who is representing the National Council of Negro Women. She and I are certain that we have received, as the two colored members of the party of twenty-eight, far more attention than we deserve on our merits. But Mrs. Sampson, by her impressive physical presence and by her participation on broadcasts, in seminars and in conferences, has done more to correct erroneous impressions, some of which border on the fantastic, about the status of the Negro in America than all the rest of us put together.

An exceedingly brilliant and charming Pakistani woman, Begum Shaista Ikramullah, whose husband is high in the foreign office, invited some of us to luncheon in her home at Karachi. The Ikramullahs are avid readers and amazingly well informed about the United States. It was because of this wealth of knowledge that I was astounded when Begum Ikramullah, after luncheon asked me, "How is it that Mrs. Sampson and you and Mrs. White are traveling on an equal footing and staying at the same hotels with the white members of the Town Hall party? And how did you manage to obtain educations equal to those of the rest of the group?"

It took considerable explaining to convince her — if I did convince her — that America's Jim Crow laws did not function outside of the United States or that they applied to all of the United States. I had to go into considerable detail to explain that Negroes were admitted and had graduated from top-flight, non-segregated American colleges and universities like Harvard, Yale, Smith, Chicago, Swarthmore, California and Vassar. It was even more of a job to convince her that a relentless campaign against racial segregation was breaking down the barriers even in southern state institutions.



W. W. Pays Tribute To A Hard Working Man—Roy Wilkins

MAY I PAY a tribute to one of the hardest workers I know who is struggling with one of the toughest jobs in the United States. Or anywhere else, for that matter. I can give personal testimony to the toughness of this man's assignment because he is now acting secretary of the NAACP. I can also bear witness based on seventeen years of day-to-day contact with Roy Wilkins as we worked side by side to his almost incredible capacity for work, his willingness and even eagerness to stay in the background and let others bask in the spotlight, his unfailing loyalty and his blunt honesty.

He has taken over the reins as chief executive officer of the Association at one of the most crucial periods in the history of America and of the Negro in the United States. Unemployment early this year which hit marginal workers many of whom are Negroes and the fear of psychosis which gripped Americans because of it caused the annual membership drive of last spring to fall below expectations. Fortunately, increase in employment which set in early in the fall caused the Association's income to improve materially in September and October. So heavy is the burden of administrative details on Mr. Wilkins' shoulders and so numerous and complicated the national and world problems he faces, he should not have to carry the additional harassment of financial problems.

In a queer sort of way, the very great success of the NAACP's battle for human freedom, to which Roy has contributed far more than the general public realizes, adds to his and the Association's problems. For forty years the average American—especially Negroes—have had the comforting assurance that the NAACP would be on the job the instant a lynching or a race riot occurred or whenever the rights of Negroes were threatened. For most Negroes this served as an excuse to do or think nothing or very little about discrimination and injustice since they were certain the NAACP would be there to do and think for them. A psychologist friend of mine once described this as a form of mass adolescence similar to that of children in their attitude towards parents who are always on hand to protect them. This in turn led, as it usually does, towards a highly critically attitude of child toward parent with little gratitude towards the protector and, instead, a most exacting and demanding attitude.

The cause of American democracy and the Negro are far more fortunate than they deserve in having a man like Roy Wilkins with his wealth of experience and his capacity for work to serve them as acting secretary of the world's largest and most civil rights organization. If they are wise they will relegate his critics who are comparatively few in number to the limbo of obscurity and impotence where they belong and increase tremendously the already large number of his supporters in the tough job which is his. Such wisdom will be forthcoming not solely because of Roy himself, important and desirable though that be, but even more because it is enlightened selfishness to build the NAACP into an even more potent weapon against bigotry. There is prestige, indomitable courage and effectiveness. It would take the better part of another forty years to build one as good as it is today. Imagine, if you will, what could and unquestionably would happen to the Negro and to the whole democratic process if the NAACP were not on the job.

So, I pay tribute to a friend and longtime fellow worker and beg you to do your utmost to turn snipers into boosters of the man who is leading the fight for your and my emancipation. By so doing you will do more for yourself and your children than you will be doing for him.



Free Press Photo

Walter White, Free Press columnist and Negro leader, expressed optimism over progress achieved in racial relations during a brief visit to Detroit. He said he noted better racial understanding among students, labor union members and officials and employers. White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is appearing at colleges, universities and forums on a lecture tour.

Praise Publisher For Views On Skin-Bleaching Chemical

Some colored citizens in this country may want to be white-skinned, but there are thousands of others who are content to continue waging a battle for first-class citizenship with the complexion that identifies them as Negroes.

That became evident this week. A steady stream of letters poured into the Defender home office praising John H. Sengstacke, editor and publisher, for his views on the skin-bleaching chemical cited by Walter White in an article entitled "Changing Color." The article was published in the August edition of Look magazine.

The NAACP secretary said in his story that a chemical—melanin—which sometimes turns the skin from black to white, may end the color line.

"Almost a Certainty"

At present the chemical is too dangerous to use.

Asserted Mr. White: "It's almost a certainty that a safe form . . . will be on sale within two to 10 years."

Once the substance is placed on the market, "Negroes could have white or light skin if they wish."

Before publication of the article, the NAACP head asked Mr. Sengstacke to state what he thought would be the average Negro's reaction to use of melanin.

Declared Mr. Sengstacke: "Negroes are proud of their heritage and do not want to lose it by merging with the white world.

"The racial, social, economic and political consequences," declared Mr. White, "would be tremendous."

They want first class citizenship." not second class, as Negroes."

That statement has proven the true sentiment of thousands of citizens of color.

The Letters

Of the many letters received by Mr. Sengstacke, the comments from two indignant correspondents are representative.

Said Miss Annie J. Clayton of Rockaway Beach, N. Y.: "We are proud of our color. It is not man's skin that needs to be changed, but his heart.

"Look at the late Dr. George Washington Carver," added Miss Clayton. "He didn't have to change his lovely color to have a social standard. Nor did Marian Anderson. Then look at Jackie Robinson. They didn't have to change their color. And there are thousands of other great American Negroes who have retained their identity. They are not and have no right to be ashamed of their color."

"There are many Negroes who are glad to be black. The majority of our people do not want the false color cited by Mr. White," said J. H. Hall, jr., of San Francisco, Calif.

White Correspondent

Among the letters received by the Defender were several revealing ones from white citizens.

Mrs. Lucile Pierce of Madison, Wisconsin, said:

"I am a victim of vitiligo—the loss of skin pigment (color). Vitiligo is not so noticeable when so-called white persons have it as when Negroes fall victims.

"Since the appearance of the article in Look by Mr. White, I have been bombarded by the daily, Associated Press, and persons who are complete strangers to me. All want to know whether I am a user of the drug, melanin.

Of course my answer is "No."

"I have lived all my life among whites. I don't think Negroes realize that many white people do not believe being white is being good."

In commenting on the attitude of the Negro toward the chemical now being developed, Mr. Sengstacke merely re-echoed a 44-year-old ideal of the Chicago Defender, voiced by the founder of the newspaper, the late Robert S. Abbott.

He declared: "Race prejudice Must Be Destroyed." Mr. Abbott did not mean that this would be done through any vaunted power of an ebony-changing chemical. Rather, by relentless struggle until full rights are won for all, regardless of race. creed or color.

'You Got Me Wrong'

—Walter White

By WALTER WHITE

(Exclusive to the Chicago Defender; Copyright, 1949, Chicago Defender)

THE old saying about shooting an arrow into the air and knowing not where it lands seems even more applicable to words put on paper, if a recent article of mine in Look Magazine is any criterion.

In that article, "Has Science Conquered the Color Line?" I reported on the extensive research which has been going on for more than a decade by the U. S. Public Health Service, several American and foreign universities and commercial chemists of a substance accidentally discovered during the war which affects melanin in human and animal skin.

Some years ago, George S. Schuyler wrote a brilliantly satirical novel, "Black No More," on the same theme which was, widely praised and enjoyed, especially by Negroes, because it ridiculed the idiotic theory of judging a man on the basis of his color.

I read every review of the novel I could lay my hands on and can remember no single instance of Mr. Schuyler being accused of advocating, as a "solution" of the race question, that all dark skinned folks bleach their skins.

Surprised By Reaction

You can imagine my surprise, therefore, when I discovered on returning to the United States, the uproar over the factual reporting of a scientific fact which had been raised by some highly vocal individuals, some of whom seem not to have read the article or, having read it, seem not to have understood it.

Some who appear to have read with their emotions instead of their brains screamed that I proposed to wipe out the color line by turning dark people white and that doing so was an act of treason to non-white people all over the world and especially to American Negroes.

The fact that I had advocated nothing whatever in the article except that the idiotic notion be abandoned that a man's ability or worth is in any fashion to be judged by the color of his skin was completely ignored.

Inasmuch as I have been attacking such dangerous and stupid prejudices for the past thirty years, I wondered (and still do) why Mr. Schuyler was praised and I denounced for writing about the same subject — he in fiction, and I in straight, factual reporting.

Some have charged that my article is "sensational." Of course it is. So too was the first article about the atom bomb. Dr. Leo Szilard, the famous atomic scientist at the University of Chicago, who with Albert Einstein sold the idea of splitting the atom to President Roosevelt, told me that he considers the discovery of monobenzyl ether of hydroquinone "a more explosive discovery than the atom bomb." It may well prove to be just that.

Let's Face Facts

Burying one's head, ostrich-like in the sand and refusing to learn the facts or write about them is sheer idiocy.

There is one circumstance about the article which I regret — that for reasons of space it had to be cut to approximately one-third its original length.

As originally written there was discussed at length the much greater amount of time and money spent by white people to tan themselves and curl their hair than Negroes spend or can afford to spend in lightening their skins and uncurling their hair.

Equally unfortunate was the excision of a paragraph in which I pointed out that in a world where two thirds of the people are not white and in which there is worldwide revolt against colonialism and "white supremacy" advocates it is likely to be wiser and safer not to be white.

The premise of that statement was the fact that there is a companion piece of research going on to add melanin to the human skin which would work havoc with the multi-billion dollar business of sun tan oils and lotions, of sun lamps, of summer and winter resorts, and of "permanent" wave parlors and instrument makers.

'Send Me Some of That'

The notion that I proposed skin whitening as a solution to race prejudice is more fantastic and inaccurate than would have been a proposal to solve the problem by advocating that all white people turn themselves dark. I wonder what the emotional breast beaters would have said about that one?

And what they suggest be done with the avalanche of letters which has descended on Look magazine and me from the United States, Africa, South America, and other parts of the world, asking where monobenzyl ether of hydraquinone can be bought.

A Negro doctor of tropical medicine in Africa writes on behalf of himself, family and relatives asking me to send him "five arabas and seven libras of this substance," whatever arabas and libras are.

A man in Cochabamba, Bolivia, writes, "I am asking that you send a sample copy for my personal use."

Two colored men in a naval hospital write on behalf of themselves and others that "we have tried to locate this substance or preparation for personal use but to no avail. Consequently, we would like your help in securing same."

Roy Wilkins informs me that the NAACP has received an order for six jars or bottles.

A woman who describes herself as "white, red headed and, unfortunately, possessor of a skin which refuses to tan," although she has spent a great deal of money and time to darken herself, asks how monobenzyl can be used to add melanin to her skin.

Will It Remove Blemishes?'

A man in Indiana declares that he is afflicted with unsightly blemishes of white that do not like the tanning of the sun" which he believes may be caused by drees of tea drinking to which he is addicted. He wants me to ll him if monobenzyl is found tea or whether it will remove e blemishes without his having give up tea to which he is voted.

"More humor on both sides," is commended by a white man in alifornia as a remedy for the atcks and misinterpretations of e article. He is indignant at a ory in a confessions magazine out a girl who did not know r parents had "Negro" blood until she birthed a black baby.

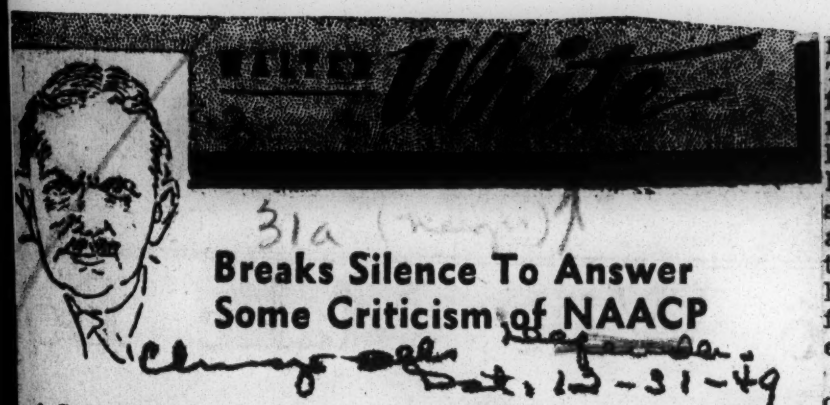
He wants an opinion on a story e is thinking of writing about vo Negroes, "really whites because of their white strain, who ved happily among Africans until she bore a white baby which rew them all out of social gear."

What's Wrong With Us?

I really don't know what advice to give him in light of the hypersensitivity on both sides of the color line. Can it be that these troubled times have so warped our ability to read and understand facts that we interpret everything we hear or read solely in the framework of the fears, prejudices and artificialities of contemporary life?

Those who are the victims of distorted thinking about race ought to be the very last to succumb to the deliberately created falsehoods of the racists.

They need desperately to avoid reading into whatever they read nothing or as little as is possible which is not intended to be there.



31a (Negro)

Breaks Silence To Answer Some Criticism of NAACP

Chicago Defender Sat. 12-31-49

AS a general rule I have found over the years that silence is the best policy when newspaper editors forget ethics and use their papers to vent personal spleen against those they do not like for real or fancied reasons. I would continue this practice in the case of the owner and editor of a certain eastern seaboard weekly so far as I personally am concerned were it not for the fact that the half-truths, outright fabrications and innuendoes he has recently been printing are jeopardizing the one effective civil rights organization the Negro possesses. If he and one or two others like him succeed in their campaign of obstruction and destruction, the loser will be the cause of human rights.

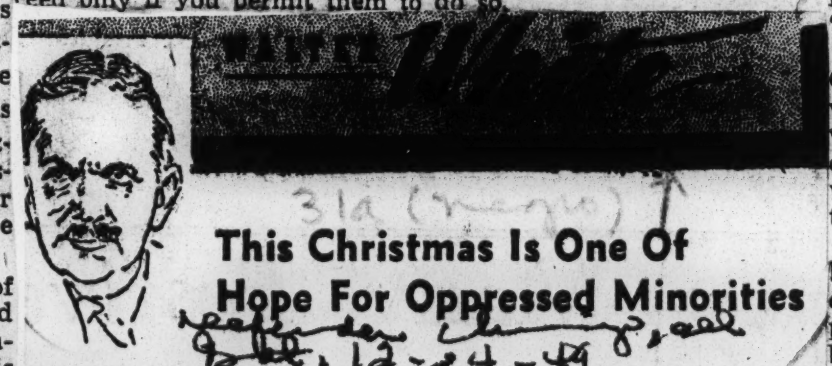
The editor in question recently publicized a decline of 168,000 members of the NAACP during 1949 which he attributed in part to "the generally unfavorable press which the organization received at times." He blithely ignores the fact that his is one of the two papers which have gone out of their way in quite vicious fashion to give the NAACP an unfavorable press. Passing lightly over what is known and recognized by all intelligent observers that every organization in the United States suffered drops in income during 1949 because of the depression scare of last spring, high living costs, strikes and heavy taxes, he tries to create the impression that only the NAACP lost financial ground. He does not mention that the Negro National Publishers Association was forced to close its Washington and New York offices, that the Urban League may have to close some of its branches, that nearly all the Negro newspapers had to reduce staff and other operating expenses.

He claims a second reason for the Association's present financial problem is "internal strife among members high in the organization." This should give a laugh to any reasonably informed person since the editor himself has been one of the chief stirrers of internal strife. Much of the time and energy of the NAACP's loyal, hardworking and underpaid staff have been diverted from the job they are doing for the benefit of mankind to the painful task of undoing the harm irresponsible journalism by this same editor's paper has done. And his paper has the temerity to label itself on its masthead as, "a Champion of Civic Welfare and the Square Deal"!

This editor, who clambered with unseemly lack of dignity or consistency on the Dewey presidential bandwagon in 1948 when he and other editors misread the signs and who did not go unrewarded from the huge G.O.P. campaign funds for advertising and other services comes up now with this gem of falsification. He quotes some anonymous persons as charging "that Mr. White's actions in the Presidential campaign and the article published under his name by **Look Magazine**, brought a loss in prestige to the organization, which was accompanied by a decline in membership." He adds that "Mr. White was accused of throwing the non-partisan organization behind Mr. Truman" which the editor knows to be a lie out of the whole cloth.

Finally the editor harps again on his favorite theme that "high officials of the organization" have used the NAACP to promote their own personal selves rather than to promote the welfare of the little man who make up its membership. Only a few months ago this editor blasted Judge William H. Hastie and Thurgood Marshall for being mentioned as possible nominees for Federal court appointments and Edward Dudley for being named as Ambassador to Liberia on the grounds that their brilliant services to the NAACP were rendered solely because they had their eyes set on jobs. Never has a more unfair or untrue statement been made. Men of such ability and industry as well as other NAACP officials could have had jobs, had they chosen to accept them, paying much higher salaries, working far fewer hours and at infinitely less personal danger, and enjoying comfortable homes in the suburbs and fat bank accounts as does the editor who now impugns their motives.

What the editor in question does in his efforts to smear and destroy me is of little importance. But what he does to weaken the greatest defender of the Negro or any other minority ever had is important to you and your children and your children's children. He and his kind, fortunately few in number, will succeed only if you permit them to do so.



31a (Negro)

This Christmas Is One Of Hope For Oppressed Minorities

Defender Chicago, Sat. 12-24-49

THERE ARE TWO reasons whose roots are deep why this Christmas season should be one of hope for oppressed minorities and in particular for the American Negro.

The famous columnist, Doris Fleeson, after a trip around the world reports that "other people of color have made the American Negro's cause their own to a degree startling to the traveler."

My own experiences on a similar trip causes me to go a step further than Miss Fleeson to say that many other people who are not colored in other countries and in the United States have made the Negro's struggle for complete equality their own. It is the extent of this latter phenomenon which constitutes the second cause for hope and jubilation but about that I shall write a little later.

Neither of these developments is altogether unselfish nor would I want them so. The late Inez Milholland who put aside wealth, social position and marriage to lead during the second decade of the 20th Century a militant fight for woman suffrage and Negro rights used to say that she trusted only those who had something to gain personally who fought for the rights of women and Negroes.

The reason why the "other people of color" which Miss Fleeson reports as having made the American Negro's cause their own are doing so is true for the sound and simple reason only that they know their own fate is inextricably intertwined with their own destiny. World War II demolished forever the illusion under which they labored of the invincibility and superiority of white men because they are white.

They also have awakened to the fact that they are an important part of a world which modern science has shrunk in size to the point where they as much as Washington and London and Moscow and Capetown are going to say what the shape of things to come shall be. Because they distrust white peoples because of their own racism and colonialism it is unstandable and natural that colored peoples increasingly are identifying themselves with American Negroes as a yardstick of what can happen to them.

This swiftly developing sentiment which Miss Fleeson reports is sinking into the thinking of intelligent Americans to a far greater degree than it is in our politicians, especially those in the Congress and State Department.

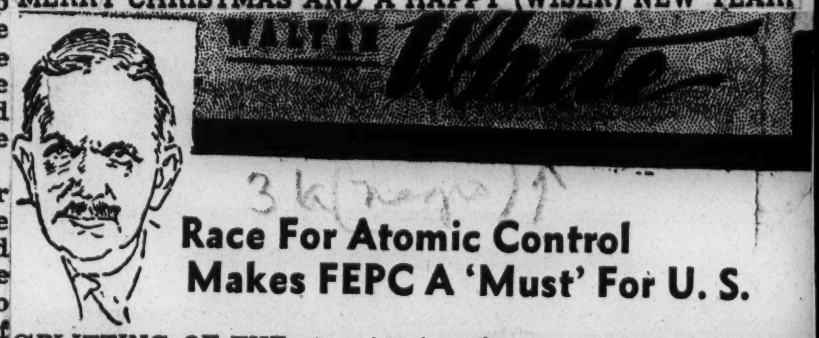
An indication of the extent that this is true may possibly be in the size of the audiences and their willingness to listen to and accept blunt truths which I have found in recent lecture engagements. Ralph Bunche tells me that his experiences has been identical (he turned down 91 speaking dates within one week recently). I can report this reception without too great immodesty because in previous years I have covered fairly frequently the same territory to find much smaller audiences and indifference if not hostility to un-sugar-coated talks on the race question.

Thus it is clearly evident that it was the subject matter instead of the speaker (except in Dr. Bunche's case where his incredible achievement as mediator in the Palestine crisis makes him a world figure) was responsible for the crowds, enthusiasm and intelligent questions. In no more than three or four of a hundred or more audiences along the Pacific Coast and the Middle West were the old cliches voiced about social equality, intermarriage, the superiority of "education over agitation and legislation." Instead the most frequently asked question was, "What can I (or we) do?"

In many places like Tucson, Arizona; the State Colleges of Oregon, Washington and Nebraska; in towns like Petaluma, Cal., where more than a twentieth of the total population of men, women, children and the aged turned out to listen to the story of what is happening along the color line around the world, there was visible awakening the like of which has not been seen in the United States since the days of the abolitionists.

I begin to wonder if Louis Martin of the **Defender** may not be right when he remarked that "maybe events are moving faster than we are." The contemporary obsession of much of the press with trivialities and conflict instead of areas of agreement between peoples and nations may be doing us more harm than anything else. I could wish nothing better for us all at this Christmas season than the gift of ability to lift our eyes from the mud and muck to horizons of understanding which would permit us to recognize and utilize the already vast and growing desire of human beings all over the world to find the way of working and living together.

MERRY CHRISTMAS AND A HAPPY (WISER) NEW YEAR!



3 (Negro)

Race For Atomic Control Makes FEPC A 'Must' For U. S.

SPLITTING OF THE atom by American and Russian scientists has provided another reason why it is imperative for the Congress to create a Federal F.E.P.C.

Sixty-two Senators and two-hundred and eighty-one members of the House of Representatives recently agreed to serve in a group headed by Senator Warren Magnuson of the State of Washington and Delegate E. L. Bartlett of Alaska to insist on moving key industries from locations along the East and West Coasts and the Great Lakes District to less vulnerable areas where, it is believed, they will be less vulnerable to attacks by guided missiles or other new weapons of offense.

And where are these plants to be moved? From northern, western and eastern locations to the Deep South where, until Congress passes a F.E.P.C. law, Negroes will be confined to porters and maids jobs. The hard-won status of Negroes in skilled and semi-skilled jobs along the West Coast will almost entirely be lost if these plants are moved and there is no power given to the Federal Government to prevent discrimination.

Some of the plants employ as few Negroes as possible even when losated outside the South. But some of them, like the

the great Boeing plant here, have given employment not only to considerable numbers of qualified Negroes but have upgraded them when they possess the necessary skills and experience.

Here are some of the shifts of location which the Magnuson-Bartlett Committee lists as either having already been made or which should be made to avoid the alleged damages of a Russian attack.

Boeing of Seattle is now building its B-47 in its Witchita, Kansas plant (where pre-World war II discrimination has been largely restored after it was broken by the wartime F.E.P.C.) and there is talk here of moving all Boeing operations away from the West Coast.

Chance Vought has already moved its plant from Stratford, Connecticut to Grand Prairie, Texas.

Consolidated Vultee of San Diego, California is now concentrating most of its B-36 contracts at a government-owned plant in Fort Worth, Texas.

The United States Air Force has rejected Washington State as the site of a proposed $100,000,000 supersonic laboratory in favor of a location in inland Tennessee.

The Magnuson-Barlett Committee recently reported that Grumman Aircraft has been asked to move its huge plant from Bethpage on Long Island, New York, to Phoenix, Arizona and Chase Aircraft from Trenton, New Jersey to Marietta, Georgia, which still lingers in tragic memory as the scene of the Leo Frank lynching.

Numerous changes of public opinion for the better in the South have developed during recent years. But, few, if any, of these changes are of sufficient strength or are wide-spread enough to insure the same employment opportunities for Negroes in Georgia and Texas as there are in Seattle. There are probably sound military reasons why plants manufacturing war equipment at government expense should increasingly be located in less vulnerable spots, although recent revelation of guided missiles and other weapons of frightening effectiveness raises doubts of any spot on the face of the earth being invulnerable. But the shifting of these plants, particularly to the South, raises a question of far-reaching importance to the economic status of minorities and particularly of the Negro.

It is to be hoped that this condition will be so vigorously impressed upon Senators from states where sizeable proportions of the voters belong to minority groups that they will not tolerate for very long the inevitable filibuster which is already being planned by Dixiecrats and reactionary Republicans.

NEW ORDER IGNORED

FHA Accused of Discrimination

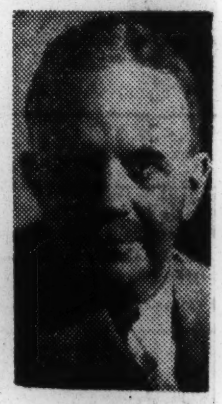
BY WALTER WHITE

Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

NEW YORK—A showdown to determine whether President Truman or the Army and the FHA shall decide what is to be done about racial discrimination is imminent and inevitable. More than a year ago the President ordered the Army, Navy and Air Force to do something about segregation of Negroes in the defense forces.

The Navy and Air Force went to work immediately and have gone a long way toward racial integration and equalizing of opportunity. The Army has stubbornly refused to budge except in a few token moves.

Recently Baltimore-born Phillip Pearlman, Solicitor General of the United States, announced on behalf of himself, President Truman and Attorney General J. Howard McGrath that henceforth no Federal monies shall be given through the FHA for construction of any housing from which American citizens are barred because of race, color, creed or national origin. No reasonable person can question the right of the government to make and enforce such a requirement. Funds loaned by the FHA and all other government agencies are obtained through the taxation of all citizens. No tax exemptions have ever been given citizens to whom equal benefits are denied. Thus the United States Government said through Mr. Pearlman's order that Americans who insist on indulgence of their personal prejudices must pay for that luxury and shall not have government assistance in enforcing them.



White

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MR. PEARLMAN'S STATEMENT was widely praised all over the United States. For more than 10 years a continued campaign had been carried on to persuade the FHA to cease its flagrantly discriminatory practices which were so brazen as to include in its Underwriters' Manual specific instructions to refuse approval of loans to minorities except in segregated areas.

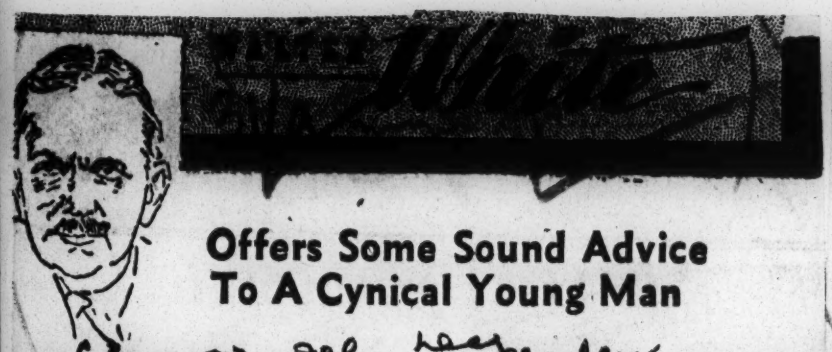
It was not until 1941 that continued public pressure forced the FHA to remove the discriminatory provision from its Underwriters' Manual. But the FHA continued its discrimination by recommending inclusion of restrictive covenants in new housing developments until the United States Supreme Court ruled that no agency of government could enforce such covenants.

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APPARENTLY IDENTICAL tactics are now being followed by the FHA to avoid compliance with the newest order to cease and desist from racial discrimination. An anonymous FHA spokesman is quoted in an Associated Press story out of Washington as saying that "racial segregation in public housing projects will be left up to local authorities," adding as a concession to the President's order and public opinion, "so long as equitable provision is made for all races."

It is clearly manifest now that neither the FHA nor the United States Army intends to comply with the explicit orders of the President, the Attorney General or the Solicitor General if they can get away with such thumbnosing.

Commendable though the orders may be, they are meaningless before the ink has dried on them if the executing agencies find or devise loopholes or excuses to evade their implementation. This kind of action makes it obligatory upon President Truman to insist on compliance or resignations. To do otherwise would constitute an admission by him of weakness and of inability to lead his own administration.



Offers Some Sound Advice To A Cynical Young Man

Chicago Def. Independent

"I have intended since I was quite young to devote my life fighting as you have for our people," writes a young Negro college student, "but after seeing the kicking around you are receiving I've changed my mind. If the very people you have devoted your life to helping stage a lynching bee, don't you think I would be wiser and safer to turn my attention to making money for myself and letting the race go hang?"

Pittsburgh Courier 10-8-49

This is an easy one to answer. I have urged—no, I have begged—the young man not to change his ambition. I have pointed out that only a few of the Negro newspapers are engaged in the current attempt to destroy me by misquotation, innuendo, and outright falsehood to make a Roman holiday and sell more papers. I have called his attention to the amazing fact that not one white newspaper even in the deepest South, as far as I have been able to learn, has treated my marriage or my Look article in any fashion but that of complete accuracy, dignity and even warmth.

In answer to the young man's query, "In the light of what is being done to you, would you choose the same career if you had the power to start all over again?" I have answered as vigorously as I could that I most certainly would choose the life I did choose. There are compensations which far outweigh whatever pain or disillusion which has been mixed with those rewards. There is the quiet satisfaction of having seen—and, perhaps, helped a little—the reduction of lynchings during the past three decades from well over a hundred annually to no more than one or two a year.

There is compensation, as Ebony Magazine pointed out editorially in its July issue, that I have been privileged to bring "into play an effective weapon that threw the law books and the Constitutional principles of equality against the forces of Jim Crow in the courts" and "to perfect techniques for marshalling the full weight of public opinion on the side of racial justice." It hasn't been either an easy or remunerative task but there has been and always will be a joy far greater than physical comfort or financial security could ever afford to see the status of America's most oppressed minority steadily rise to one of respect.

I have told my discouraged young correspondent that I have not been unaware for many years that there was resentment against me among some Negroes because I was not more noticeably colored, even though I had always tried to use that circumstance, over which I had no control, to benefit Negroes generally and not myself personally. I have told him of the jealousy of certain individuals because I was occasionally invited to such places as the White House even though the purpose of those visits and contacts was to plead the Negro's cause.

Another White House visit was made to urge upon President Roosevelt that he and other top officials invite Negro editors, which he did, to important conferences and thereby cause them to feel they were an important and integral part of government. Still another was made to protest against the snide plan to cut off supplies of newsprint to Negro newspapers and thereby render them impotent and profitless. It is one of the hazards of the fight for freedom which one must accept philosophically that some of those very same papers today use the power to speak out which one must accept philosophically that some of those very same papers today use the power to speak out which they almost lost in an attempt to destroy the future usefulness of one who fought for their right to continue publication.

Some thirty-two years ago, when most of my friends in Atlanta told me I was idiotic to give up a business career and work at a lower salary for the then small NAACP, my late father gave me some advice which has meant much to me during recent days. "No matter what you do," he warned me, "there will be people who will misinterpret your motives, either deliberately or through ignorance. Decide in your heart what is right—talk it over with God—and then, having made your decision, stand by it."





Echoes of That 'Look' Article Still Ringing in Walter's Ears

MAY I USE this space this week to voice a most urgent appeal?

I would be infinitely grateful if you'd do whatever you can to dissuade folks from writing me to ask where they can buy monobenzyl ether of hydaquinone or a permanent hair straightener.

Chicago Def. Independent

I have to pay out of my own pocket postage, stationery and the salary of a secretary, a sizeable portion of whose time is now being devoted to answering letters about the two products.

In addition, a dismaying part of my own time which should be devoted to more profitable use is being taken up dictating letters and answering telephone calls. Not only must these requests for information be answered courteously but also questionnaires and lengthy sets of questions from authors and would-be authors of plays, novels, short stories and articles whose imaginations have been stimulated by the drastic possibilities of a human being's being able to change his skin color from dark to light or light to dark at will.

Pittsburgh Courier 11-19-49

If you haven't already heard, the whole thing started when I wrote an article for Look Magazine about the progress which has been made to date in perfecting a chemical substance accidentally discovered during the war which may be able to lessen or increase the amount of pigmentation in the skins of human beings or animals. I also mentioned the fact told me by a famous university scientist that a really permanent hair straightener has been developed. But, I pointed out as clearly as my knowledge of the English language permitted, neither of these products are as yet commercially available or absolutely safe to use.

These parts of the article seem to have been completely ignored. A steady stream of letters pours in from all over the world and its volume increases instead of diminishes as the days grow into months since the article was published. A number of Negroes in varying degrees of indignation asserted when the facts were published that very, very few colored people would use the melanin-changing and hair-altering products. How fervently I wish they had been right. Had they been, I would have a great deal more time (and would be saved a not inconsiderable amount of expense) to devote to more important tasks than that of writing over and over again that (a) the products are not yet available or safe and (b) I told all I knew about them in the Look article. Please help me out by restraining any of your friends in whose eyes you see the gleam of an embryonic letter to one Walter White.

WALTER WHITE REPORTS TO U.S.

Race Bias Subject of World Criticism

Afro-American Dec. 11-3-49

NEW YORK—World-wide criticism of racial discrimination in the United States is reported in an account of race relations and colonialism presented to government officials by Walter White, NAACP secretary-on-leave, on his return from a recent around-the-world tour.

Reporting that "questions about the contradiction of American ideals of freedom and racial and religious discrimination in the United States" were encountered in all parts of the globe, Mr. White asserts that these incidents "are used with devastating effectiveness by the enemies and critics of the United States to discredit American democracy."

Basis for Discussion

Mr. White also deplored the scarcity of information being issued about colored people in the United States and suggested that "distinguished colored Americans like Dr. Ralph J. Bunche and Governor William H. Hastie" be requested to write special pamphlets for the United States Information Service, "setting forth the facts honestly and tersely about the gains, as well as the flaws in the American race situation."

Each member of the Town Hall Seminar, the group with which Mr. White toured the globe, was requested to make recommendations which were used as the basis for discussions with Secretary of State Dean Acheson, the House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations Committees, Secretary of the Treasury John Snyder, and Secretary of Defense Louis A. Johnson, and other officials. These discussions were held in Washington last week.

Some of the letters, however, open up fascinating vistas wholly unrelated to human skin. A man who raises chinchillas, for example, wants information about monobenzyl as a possible means of developing new (and probably even more expensive) colors of furs. I doubt that the chemical can do that since it acts on melanin in the skin and not on hair follicles. But the article has set his mind to work and may lead to experimentation in regulating the color of hair which would interest human beings who don't want their hair to turn grey as well as breeders of fur bearing animals.

A woolen manufacture wants to know if some variant of monobenzyl might be developed to fix the color of wool and thereby eliminate the expense of dying the fabric. Again I doubt that this can be managed since the chemical in its present form does not affect the color of hair, fur or wool. The manufacture writes that he is instructing the chemists in his laboratory to begin research on the basis of his belief that if Burbank and other scientists could develop new and exotic colors in flowers and fruits it may be possible to do the same thing with sheep and other animals. Should such experiments succeed it is possible that some new millionaires will be made among those with enquiring minds who seek the truth and are not led astray by their emotions or preconceived ideas.

Since I am not a scientist I am unable to do anything with such enquiries except to be fascinated by some of them and to refer them to scientists who know the facts.

As for the more numerous letters asking where the hair and skin changers may be purchased, let me repeat:

THEY ARE NOT ON THE MARKET YET

WALTER WHITE SAYS:

Colonialism: It Doesn't Pay

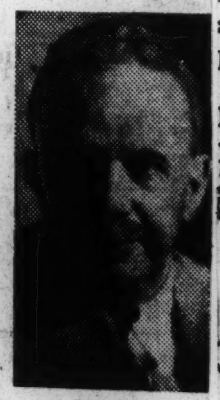
BY WALTER WHITE
Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

NEW YORK—Before interest dies in the recent decision of the United Nations General Assembly regarding Italian stewardship over her former colonies in Africa and for its great value in future consideration of colonialism, I wish to submit expert testimony on the fallacy that "colonialism pays."

The expert witness is Robert S. Byfield, of the New York Stock Exchange, who has handled as great a volume of foreign investments as almost any other American banker.

Mr. Byfield has this to say about notions that possessing colonies solves the problems of raw materials or over-population.

"In the early period of colonialism, say from about 1500 to 1890, colonialism may have been profitable or at worse an economic standoff, but in recent times colonialism has been at best marginal and most likely an extremely costly operation.



White

"The three latecomers in the colonial expansionist game, Germany, Italy and Japan, considered themselves 'have-not' nations. Inasmuch as they ruled or controlled large areas of living space they thereby admitted that expansion gauged by a square mile standard, apparently did not pay.

"In contrast to the widely advertised poverty of the former Axis countries is the relative wealth of Switzerland and Denmark, neither one being a colonial power.

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"ONE OF THE GREAT fables or fallacies of our time is the idea that if a metropolitan power could obtain title or some type of control over extensive raw-material-producing areas of the earth the resulting trade and commerce would provide an overall net gain for its taxpayers.

"This factual absurdity was utilized so freely by Nazi, Fascist and Communist propagandists in pre World War II that it became generally accepted to be true.

"Even Messrs, Roosevelt and Churchill were obliged to state jointly in 1941 that the Democracies were in favor of giving 'access, on equal terms to all states to the trade and raw materials of the world which are needed . . . for their economic prosperity.'

"It may be surprising to many that the cold facts with respect to colonial trade have been easily available since 1936 at least when Grover Clark published his invaluable work for the Carnegie Endowment entitled "The Balance Sheets of Imperialism.'

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FOR A GOOD MANY decades there has never been any trouble in peacetime for any nation or manufacturing concern to obtain plenty of raw materials. Conversely, we know of no raw material producing country which, except as a war-time measure, has refused to sell its products to a willing and able buyer.

"The age of synthetics and substitutes is here and man's ingenuity and inventive prowess in many fields, notably fertilizers, fibers, rubber and medicinal drugs guarantees that the populations of the great 'workshop' or industrial areas of the world shall become freer of and not more exclusively dependent upon the world's raw material producers in the foreseeable future.

"One of the great problems of the 1950s may well be the disposal of rather than the production of the world's raw materials.

"Nor can present day colonial expansion be defended as the solution of the population problem of overcrowded countries. One has only to record, as Clark and others have done, that at the outbreak of World War I there were less than 20,000 Germans living in the German colonies, that less than half as many Europeans lived in the Italian colonies in 1931 as there were Italians in the Borough of Manhattan, and that only 350,000 Japanese were living outside of Japan proper in 1933.

"Modern colonialism is becoming an increasingly expensive luxury. It may provide military glory or bases or perhaps political prestige. But from an economic point of view it is an anachronism."



WALTER White

Success of Ralph Bunche Opens Way For Diplomatic Careers

IF YOU ARE reasonably young and interested in a life work which the extraordinary success of Dr. Ralph Bunche has materially opened up for Negroes, may I suggest consideration of a diplomatic career. There are indications that applications from Negroes with the right qualifications of ability, education and temperament will be given more serious consideration than ever before. We found wherever we went on our recent around the world trip that nothing in recent American history had done as much to bolster a sadly deteriorating American prestige than the job Ralph Bunche had done in the Palestine situation. It proved more effective in counteracting Soviet, British and other anti-American propaganda than anything else through demonstration that an American Negro could rise above barriers of prejudice and be entrusted with negotiation of the most difficult diplomatic crisis of contemporary history.

On their return to the United States the representatives of twenty-eight national organizations with a total membership of 30,000,000 were asked to join in a composite recommendation to the President, the State Department and other government agencies of things to be done. On behalf of the NAACP I urged integration of qualified Negroes and representatives of other minority groups into the diplomatic service. Powerful church, educational, labor and professional groups joined heartily and unanimously in recommendation of "the appointment of more qualified Negroes to serve in important posts in our missions abroad."

There are indications that this recommendation may be acted upon more speedily than any of the others made by the influential group. There have appeared in the daily and weekly press reports that Ambassador Edward Dudley now in Liberia may be promoted to a European post. There are also signs that the State Department is receptive to increase the Negro personnel in the diplomatic corps. In addition to posts such as ambassador, minister, consul, charge d'affaires, first secretary and similar embassy jobs there are many others, dependent on the size and importance of the country, such as commercial, public relations, agricultural, naval, military and other attaches. A fascinating and increasingly important branch of foreign service is the United States Information Service which in most of the countries we visited is doing an outstanding job of interpreting the United States to other nations.

A letter to the Department of State at Washington, D. C., will bring you information regarding the necessary qualifications which are required, methods of applying and other needed material. I suggest you write for such information if you are interested. Don't apply unless you already possess or intend to obtain a good education. Don't apply unless you are willing to do a lot of hard work and study. It took Ralph Bunche many years of diligent study and hard work to prepare himself so that when the time came to choose a director of the U. N. Division of Trusteeships, he was the outstanding authority on colonialism in the world. Don't aim at a diplomatic career unless you are willing to pay the price.

The self-taught and wise father-in-law of the late James Weldon Johnson, John B. Nail, used to say with cynical humor that "the Negro is the only race on earth which believes one of its number can be a bank porter today and the bank president tomorrow." Happily, since he made that remark years ago, Negroes as well as others have learned that education and training are absolutely necessary to fill posts requiring technical skills. I hope only those who have achieved this wisdom will apply for the diplomatic service.

Thanks to the accomplishments of men like Ralph Bunche, Edward Dudley and a few others and also to the pressures of world events another barrier to opportunity for the Negro seems to be crumbling. It isn't entirely demolished yet, by any means. But it is less formidable and impervious than it was a few years ago. If you have the qualifications and the willingness to work, go to it.

Negro (Walter White)



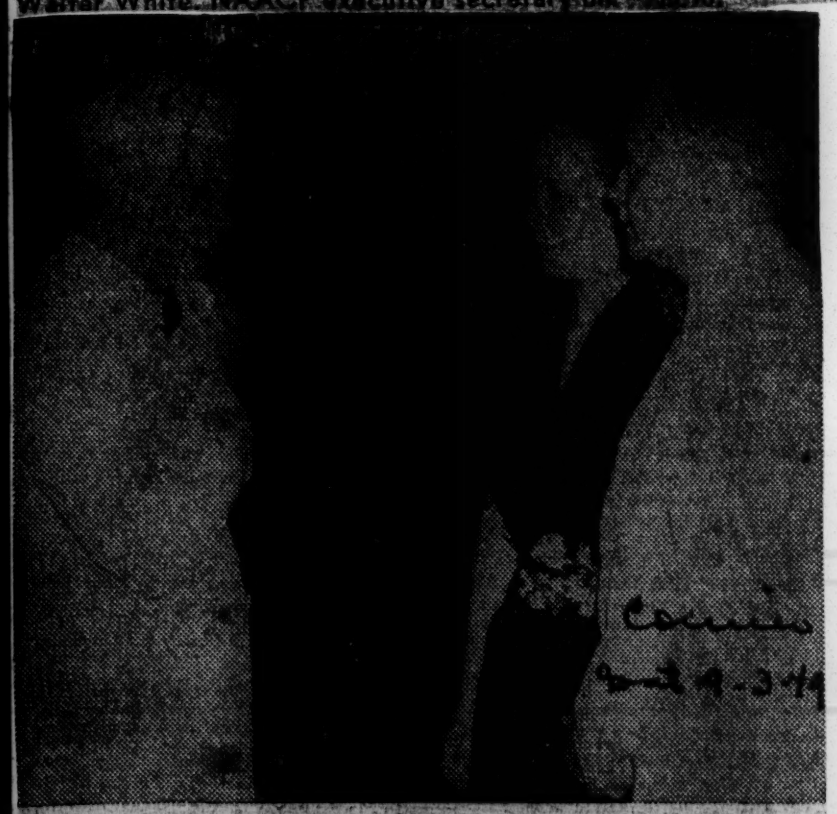
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Walter White
Defender. Chicago, Ill. Sat. 8-13-49

TOWN HALL WORLD TOUR touches briefly at Istanbul, Turkey, and the travellers leave their plane for sightseeing and some much needed rest. Greeting them at the airport were James M. McFarland, and Titus D. Triplett, both attached to the United States Information Service press department. Arrows indicate Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (on leave) and Chicago Defender columnist; and Edith S. Sampson, Chicago attorney and civic leader, who, in private life, is the wife of Atty. Joseph Clayton. Both are with the Town Hall tour. (See theatrical section for feature story on Titus Triplett, a Negro musician who has lived in Europe for 20 years).—Photo by Yani Gavriloglu.

Walter, Poppy in India



Indian Joke—At a reception for members of the America's town Hall Meeting of the Air group, Walter White, NAACP executive secretary on leave, and his wife, the former Mrs. Poppy Cannon, listen to a joke being told by Gov. Gen. H. E. Rajagopalachari, right.—European Photo.



Pandit Ponders—Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister of India, talks to Mr. and Mrs. Walter White who are traveling with the America's Town Hall Meeting of the Air group, at a reception given in India in honor of the American group.—European Photo.

Do You Want To Be White?

(FROM THE ST. LOUIS ARGUS)

Walter White's solution to the race problem, as proposed in his article in latest issue of Look magazine, is something more than the story of one man's admission of failure. In a larger sense, it is also a national tragedy.

As head of the NAACP, White had become something of a national conscience, a constant reminder to the nation that its democratic ideals were far from its way of life. Now, by suggesting that Negroes make use of a new chemical which turns the skin white, he joins with the diseased South and the German fascists, in declaring that a man's worth is in the color of his skin.

How How Silly, How Silly, How Silly!

White reassures that they can keep their prejudice, their ignorance, their stupidity and achieve a democratic society by hiding the Negro race with this magic bleaching cream. In this manner, advancing knowledge is to become the lackey of ignorance, and social progress is to be confined to the laboratory.

This is the kind of twisted use of science that men instinctively oppose, and with good reason. With his whitener, bleaching cream and plastic surgery, White could make a nation of people who look like children of the same parents. He reasons that discrimination would be licked in such a society.

But the truth is not so easily swindled. Both Jews and and Catholics are white, but they are the constant targets of American prejudices. The untouchables on India are the same color as their oppressors, but they suffer greater humiliation than the Southern Negro. Whites have lynched and burned other whites at the stake merely because of their beliefs.

Clearly then, color is incidental to group discrimination. The fundamental source of prejudice lies in economic status. Both the Negro and the untouchable are the exploited workers of their respective societies. Obviously, changing the Negro's color will not change his status as a worker and a slum-dweller, and therefore, will not protect him from segregation.

In justice to White, it must be said that many Negroes try to gain a sense of greater personal worth by getting whiter. Without thinking it through they do not realize that being white is more than skin deep. It is also a set of attitudes such as prejudice against Negroes, Jews, labor unions and foreigners.

In suggesting that Negroes become white, he is also asking them to renounce their belief in human dignity and democracy. He offers in return, the illusion of membership in the "master race." Herein, is reason enough to believe that the vast majority of Negroes would choose to remain colored.

If America is to survive, it mut continually wage war upon the vicious proposition of racial superiority. Hiding the sickness with whitewash, merely givs the illusion of health while disease rages unchecked.

The bitterness of the incident, is that Walter White, a supposed Negro leader has proposed such a thing. His proposal flatters the stupidity of prejudiced whites, but insofar as it is carried out, it rushes towards degradation.

Negro(Walter White)

WALTER WHITE BLASTED AFTER PUBLICATION OF 'TURNING WHITE' ARTICLE IN "LOOK" MAGAZINE

Argus Writer Says Statements of Author Unfits Him For Negro Leadership

DEMURS REGARDING SUGGESTED "PEACE" PROGRAM

CHICAGO — (ANP) — Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP now on a year's leave with pay, became the storm center of attack from Negro leaders last week because of his article in the Aug. 16 Look magazine on the subject of Negroes being turned white by a chemical. "Has Science Conquered the Color Line?"

Anita Lyona writing a front page story in the St. Louis Argus, one of the largest Negro newspapers west of the Mississippi river. She opened her article as follows:

"Another national incident by Walter White which renders him unfit to be a leader of 14,000,000 Negroes in the United States is an article written by him for Look magazine, advocating the use of a newly developed scientific salve which changes the pigmentation of the skin from black to white."

Also joining the list of critics against White were Willard B. Ransom, Indiana state chairman of the NAACP, and William L. Patterson, executive secretary of the Civil Rights congress.

Sharpest criticism came from

One newsman, S. W. Garlington, reported sympathetically for White.

The controversial article is a two page story explaining the scientific possibilities of a new chemical, monobenzyl ether of hydroquinone, which recently turned the skins of Mexican and Negro workers white in the South.

In his article, White points out that the chemical is not yet safe for extensive use, nor is its effect permanent. Nevertheless, he optimistically says:

"If completely perfected and widely used, this chemical could hit the structure of society with the impact of an atomic bomb. It carries implications of tremendous social changes—especially in the United States. It could, in fact, erase the color line."

Garlington, who is one of the editors of the Amsterdam News, says of White's article in the Aug. 20 city edition of the paper:

"The overwhelming majority of Negroes are glad that they are colored. All they want is to be treated just like other Americans.

"However, White and Look have provided the public with an amazing article—one which should help show America the stupidity of the 'color line' and encourage all people to treat all others on the basis of their real qualities.

Miss Lyons disagrees with the article and White on three points:

1. "It will appear to white Americans that the latent desire of every Negro is to be white since this opinion expressed by Walter White . . ."

2. "Another implication . . . is that regardless of the natural beauty, education and culture possessed by any Negro man or woman, it is of no significance because he or she is a Negro or a member of darker-skinned race."

3. She does not believe the possibility of turning white of- [illegible] what she says White calls the "greatest thing for world peace and race relations that has ever happened."

According to the Indianapolis Recorder, Ransom said of White:

"I once entertained great respect for Mr. White, but now I wonder—has he dropped his sword and given up the battle?"

Speaking of the change in color Ransom said:

"While I do not question the possibilities of what science can achieve with regard to skin coloration, to seriously propose this as a 'solution' to the race problem in America or anywhere else is dangerous and stupid."

He says this article is playing into the hands of white supremacists. Most of the people in the world are colored, he says, who are on the march for freedom and equality.

Walter White's Skin Bleach Ideas Fail To Get Favorable Reception

By LILLIAN SCOTT

NEW YORK—The nation's chemists might as well come out of those laboratories, judging from the reaction here, ranging from the man-in-the-street to prominent Negro spokesmen, to a possible chemical solution of the race question by bleaching dark skins light, posed by Walter White in the August 16 issue of Look Magazine.

Dr. A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, dubbed the proposal, chemical, wholly fantastic." The union leader added, "I do not share the [illegible] of Mr. White in the virtue of a chemical solution to the Negro problem." White, now on leave as executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, reported in Look that the war, that monobenzyl ether of hydroquinone turned dark skins lanin, from the skin.

Admitting that science had still tain that the details, including the safety of those using the new cal. He said, "Consider of their heritage and do not want to lose it by merging with the white race. Those Negroes I know," Granger continued grimly, "are concerned with the question of how to protect their standing in America as Negroes and are not thinking about resigning from the colored race."

This opinion was echoed repeatedly in New York. Lester Granger, executive director of the National Urban League, said, "It is virtually certain that the discovery will bring in a new era. No longer will skin color be a criterion of human ability and acceptance Monobenzyl may do more for race relations than any other scientific discovery to date."

John H. Sengstacke, publisher of the Chicago Defender, was quoted in the Look article as being skeptical of the popularity of the chemical. He said, "Negroes are proud of their heritage and do not want discussion of the racial question. Those Negroes I know," Granger continued grimly, "are concerned with the question of how to protect their standing in America as Negroes and are not thinking about resigning from the colored race."

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At the conclusion of his article, White asked, "Consider the new world. They want to lose it by merging with the white race. Those Negroes I know," Granger continued grimly, "are concerned with the question of how to protect their standing in America as Negroes and are not thinking about resigning from the colored race."

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Dr. Channing Tobias of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, declared, "In spite of the premium that white people may put on color, Negroes are not interested in achieving freedom from discrimination by resorting to any such fantastic means as changing one's color." Sardonically, Granger suggested that Negroes will continue to lose their pigmentation, not by chemical action, but as "whites continue to absorb it through the process of amalgamation."

Roy Wilkins, acting executive secretary of the NAACP, was asked if he thought a solution by chemistry was likely to have any immediate affect on the race problem. "I'd say no," Wilkins answered firmly.

The same views were given by less well-known people, like dark-complexioned Mrs. Flossie Bryant who was asked her opinion in a beauty shop. "I wouldn't use any chemical because it would affect your insides. So long as I'm dark, I like it like this, and I'm going to stay like this!" Mrs. Bryant declared.

Dixie Fortune felt the same way. Pretty, coffee-colored Dixie murmured with a smile, "Just let me keep my little race brown." Angli Disraeli, a young Negro of Haitian extraction, said he wouldn't use a bleaching chemical.

We found one man who was indecisive on the chemical. He said, "I wouldn't use it," but after a moment's thought, he added, "unless everyone else did. I wouldn't want to be left alone as the world's only Negro."

BACK FROM WORLD TOUR:

Race Riots Played Up Abroad, Says White

NEW YORK—The race riots in the United States are being played up in Moscow and India with "enormous effect," declared Walter White last week upon his return to the States with the 'Round-the-World Town Meeting group.

The NAACP executive secretary said that the Moscow radio and Tass and Reuters in India, especially, are publicizing the riots as "the only participation of colored persons in American life."

During the tour, he continued, "American representatives and friends of America told me that this is the most serious question with which they are constantly confronted."

Everywhere he went, especially in the Orient, he was questioned about race relations in the States, he said.

Two With Touring Group

Mr. White, who with Mrs. Edith Sampson of the National Council of Negro Women, was an official member of the touring group, said further:

"There is ample evidence to believe that participation in this world tour by the National Council and the NAACP has projected the race question onto the world scene as nothing else in contemporary history.

"One interesting example of the new respect gained is the number of requests for detailed information about the NAACP and its structure which were made by minority groups in various countries who wish to model their organizations on the NAACP."

Joined Party in Rome

Mr. White left New York on July 9 and joined the party in Rome, continuing with the group through the Near East, India, the Philippines, Japan and Hawaii. He participated in international broadcasts from Karachi and Rome.

In addition to these, there were a number of local broadcasts in each of the cities visited and almost daily seminars with government officials, labor leaders, representatives of the press, religious groups, women's and professional organizations.

In New Delhi he was the dinner guest of Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister of India.

WHITE ATTACKS' SPEECH

Senator Dulles and Colonialism

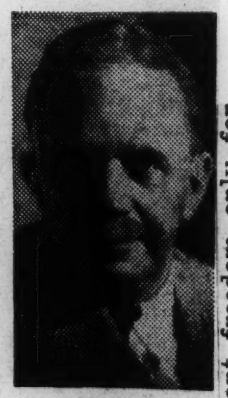
BY WALTER WHITE

Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

NEW YORK—Candidates for public office in the United States are usually granted a certain amount of leeway in the proposals they make to win support of voters' blocs.

Even when they advocate policies which are dangerous, the average voter either charitably ignores them as being campaign stuff which will be forgotten as soon as the election is over or does not trouble to read the speeches at all.

But there are men in public life whose lives of solid accomplishment and the public esteem in which they are held are such that the proposals they make cannot be dismissed as campaign ballyho but instead have world-wide significance. Such a man is John Foster Dulles, candidate for re-election as United States Senator from New York. Thus his Columbus Day speech in Buffalo to an Italian audience in which he unashamedly made a bid for Italian votes at the price of independence for the natives of the African colonies formerly held by Italy comes as a distinct shock. At least seven Somaliland natives have been killed and 20 wounded by British troops in the last two weeks for protesting the proposed return of Italian political control over that unhappy colony.



White

MR. DULLES' VAST EXPERIENCE as a member of the United States delegation to the United Nations must surely cause him to know that additional bloodshed and turmoil will inevitably follow any steps to return to Italy any of the African colonies which she renounced totally and forever in the Treaty of Paris.

He must know that any steps by the United States or the UN or anyone else to re-establish colonialism, however disguised, will set off a chain reaction of revolt all over Africa and Asia.

He must know that it would play directly into the hands of Russia by giving the U.S.S.R. devastating propaganda material with which to prove to those who are the victims of colonialism that the democracies want freedom only for the peoples of Europe and America.

In the fact of such incontrovertible facts, Mr. Dulles' bid for Italian votes is alarming. He alleged at Buffalo that Italy has a "right" to send emigrants to Africa and that the sending of them there is the only solution to Italy's economic plight, beset as she is by over-population, few natural resources and inability to import raw materials from Iron Curtain countries.

IT APPARENTLY HAS NOT occurred to Mr. Dulles that Italians want to migrate to Africa or anywhere else they do so without being given political control over the country which they go to improve their status.

Italian immigrants have contributed materially to the building of America. But no one has proposed that they be given political control of the United States as a condition of their coming here. Nor should they or anyone else be given such power in Africa or anywhere else. Let them take their chances of survival and advancement in Somaliland, Eritrea or Libya on precisely the same conditions on which they sought freedom and opportunity here.

MR. DULLES HAS BACKTRACKED from the proposal he espoused as a member of the United States delegation at the Paris UN General Assembly in 1948 and at Lake Success in the Spring of 1949 and now favors renunciation of all political control over Eritrea and Libya.

But he continues to favor denial to the natives of Somaliland the future freedom which is proposed for the other two former Italian colonies. In fairness to him let it be pointed out that in doing this he is following the American line regarding Somaliland.

Mr. Dulles conveniently ignores the grim fact that Italy's economic plight is in part due to the fact that she fought on the side of Germany in the last war. She has rightly been given enormous Marshall Plan aid toward recovery, despite



WALTER White

Negro Is Still The Key To Dilemma In South

ONE could be cynical about the sudden concern over Klan terrorism in Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi by saying that it wasn't until white people, including white women, were beaten up that the nation became aroused. Unhappily, that is largely true. But even if it were wholly true, religious and racial and economic minorities in those states and all over the country will be the beneficiaries of the revulsion of public opinion against the Klan and other terrorists.

Negroes in Birmingham had been targets of bombs, almost total lack of police protection thanks to the Dixiecrat "Bull" Connor who is police commissioner, and an apparently growing hostility as poison was sprayed by bigots all over Birmingham and Alabama. In the past with such odds against them, there seemed little the victims could do except suffer in silence until the storm had worn itself out. But this time a new Negro appeared. Courageous colored ministers backed by an almost solidly united Negro community challenged the mob. An ominous quiet which had no note of fear but instead of determination to protect their lives and homes if necessary began to have its effect on white Birmingham. Once again, Negroes weren't running from trouble. They didn't want it but if it came, they were going to meet it head-on.

Then the Klan, as stupid as it was self-righteous in its alleged aims, began to beat white people. Church, veteran, labor and other groups began to manifest some of the courage which Negroes had been showing although largely unnoticed or ignored. Even among the most obtuse there began to percolate that something drastic had to be done. Governor Folsom demanded the Alabama legislature outlaw mobs while Congress and the Department of Justice, the former plagued by guilt over its own recent lynching of civil rights legislation, began to manifest interest in and concern over what was going on in Dixiecratland.

American diplomatic representatives overseas reported how their work and American prestige were becoming less and less effective as news of the crimes of cowardly night shinters back home spread all over the world.

What will come of all these tangled forces which are coming to boiling point? Will the three-century-old pattern of violence against the Negro which has cursed the South continue to dominate the sub-potomac regions and eventually force a reluctant, cowardly and politics-ridden Congress to act? Will the Negro in sheer disillusion and despair be forced to take counter-measures to stop the mob? Or will the combination of enlightened self-interest in the South led by such quiet and effective persons as Mrs. M. E. Tilly and the churchwomen she is educating, the desire of the South to attract more industry and who are wise enough to know that cautious capital doesn't like the jeopardy of mob violence even though it is willing to use racial antagonism for its own selfish ends when necessary combine with the diminution of American prestige abroad make stoppage of the Kluxers imperative?

Whatever the outcome, the major determinant is going to be the Negro himself. Backed by the political power of his brothers in Northern and border states and his own growing power in the South, the Southern Negro emerges under pressure as one of the most heroic in American history.

He is earning by his courage the respect of even his most implacable enemies. He is forcing mealy-mouthed liberials to face up to the weakness of their own maudlin appeals that they be allowed to "handle the problem in their own way." All but the most stupid Southerners ask this now in an apologetic and unconvincing fashion.

All hell or all heaven can break loose any day now.



WALTER White

Do Race Pictures Denote New Hollywood Attitude?

Just as one swallow doesn't make a summer, neither do the first two non-stereotyped movies about the Negro mean that the makers of films have done a complete about face and will hereafter produce only pictures in which Negroes are portrayed as normal human beings. But one thing is certain—Hollywood can never go back to its old portrayal of colored people as witless menials or idiotic buffoons now that "Home of the Brave" and "Lost Boundaries" have been made to be followed soon by other films from the studios of Twentieth Century-Fox, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer and others.

Despite some shortcomings of psychology and acting, "Home of the Brave" has received such critical acclaim for its courage in tackling an issue hitherto taboo in the films that Hollywood is beginning to wonder why it has permitted itself to be frightened by the Southern fireeaters all these years. Understandably enough, they are waiting to see how such pictures will draw at the box office. If the crowds which flock to the theatres in the larger cities where "Home of the Brave" are a barometer, the public is not only ready but eager to foot the bill for honest and good pictures about the Negro and Negro-white relations in the United States and elsewhere in the world.

I have just seen what is called a "rough cut" of "Lost Boundaries" which is scheduled for release around the middle of June. Even though the musical score had not been dubbed into the film and there were frequent "Scene Missing" sequences which had to be explained by Louis de Rochemont, producer of the picture, I found my eyes wet with tears three or four times as the picture was being run. It follows quite faithfully the true story which you probably read in the **Reader's Digest** or in book form of the family which "passed" in New Hampshire. Poignant as was the telling of the tale by William L. White in written form, it becomes almost heartbreaking when acted on the screen.

I agree with the criticism which has been made that qualified colored actors and actresses could and should have been used in the film instead of white actors and actresses slightly made up to look "colored" in certain of the shots. But that is a ontest yet to be fought and won and it will be won if the financial return on these first pictures is such as to initiate a new Hollywood trend. The important thing is that in both "Lost Boundaries" and "Home of the Brave" honest pictures about Negroes have been made and thereby not only American but peoples all over the earth can now gain a new perspective on the American Negro instead of the false, fantastic and fatally derogatory portrayals of most movies of the past.

James Michener, author of one of the most spectacularly successful books and plays of all time, "South Pacific," was quoted recently in the **New York Times** on how "the totality of art, the whole body of literature, constructs a core of belief, of decency" which Mr. Michener believes, can prevent the "moral downfall" which has cursed Germany and Japan. He went on to illustrate his point by examples which are applicable to the new trend of pictures about the Negro. "Books like 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' 'Strange Fruit' and 'Gentlemen's Agreement,' he declared, "do establish a morality which the next generation can't flout. I think books have to be within the main stream of on-moving human experience. I am quite humble about this, but for my taste, there has to be sort of instinct within them."

It may be that we are about to witness or already are witnessing the birth of that "sort of instinct" of human decency so far as the Negro and other minorities are concerned.

How I wish Wendell Willkie were alive to witness the fruits of some of the labors he gave so diligently and earnestly only six short years ago to convince Hollywod that it could make decent pictures about the Negro.

Negroes Not Interested in Changing Color of Skin to Get Freedom, Leaders Say

New York (NNPA)—Prominent New Yorkers disagreed with Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, that monobenzyl, a chemical that turns dark skin white, will afford colored people a means of breaking over racial barriers.

The chemical science has discovered removed melanin from the skin. Melanin is the substance which makes a person white or dark. Monobenzyl removed melanin from the skin.

Mr. White, who is on leave of absence for a year from his post with the NAACP and is currently on a round-the-world tour with the Town Hall Seminar, writing in Look magazine, pointed out that the effects of monobenzyl on pigmentation were accidently discovered shortly before the war when the hands and arms of colored and Mexican workers in a Midwestern tannery were turning white.

Upon investigation by the United States Public Health Service, it was determined that the discoloration was traceable to the chemical in the rubber gloves they were wearing.

For millions of colored Americans,

Disagreeing with Mr. White, Dr. Channing H. Tobias, director of the Phelps Stokes Fund, said: "The answer as to whether colored people would attempt such a thing is a flat no. In spite of the premium that white people may place on color, Negroes are not interested in achieving their freedom from discrimination through any fantastic proposal of changing their color even if it were possible."

Lester B. Granger, executive secretary of the National Urban League, said: "It would be a coward's escape. Nothing is solved when you run from the enemy and leave him in possession of the field."

Racial Prejudice Fading in Japan

Detroit Free Press
2/a

BY WALTER WHITE

Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

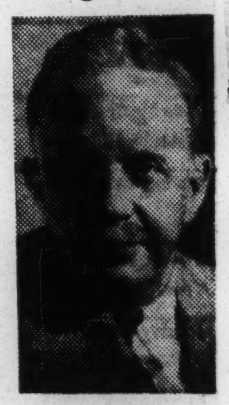
TOKYO—One of the most fascinating experiences in revisiting war zones is that of measuring the extent of survival of racial prejudices or of democratic practices initiated by American soldiers during the fighting.

Sun. 10-2-49

Here and there one encounters residual remains of fantastic myths about Negroes—for example, the one that all colored people have tails or that Negroes in the United States occupy virtually the same status as untouchables once did in India.

Detroit Tribune

But one finds far more frequently that the deliberate efforts a minority of white Americans made during the war to create difficulties for colored ones have either been totally forgotten or have resulted in a materially increased sympathy for Negro occupation troops. This is especially true among those who themselves have been the targets of color prejudice.



White

For example, we talked with a brilliant and charming graduate of Wellesley College who had undergone considerable persecution from her fellow-Japanese during the war because of her outspoken pro-American views. "The thing which hurt most and proved to be one of the most valuable aids to the war lords in whipping up hatred of the United States was Americans calling us 'yellow . . .' ", she told us. "We knew the Germans weren't being called 'white . . .' and we couldn't convince the people we talked to that the United States wasn't as evil as Japanese propagandists said when we were attacked because of our color."

●

IT IS A PLEASURE to report that we found here a remarkable absence of friction or prejudice between white and Negro troops or civilian occupation personnel although a very high percentage of Americans here are from the deep South.

Seven out of ten soldiers who stood in line in front of me at the PX window where Americans can purchase yen or military scrip spoke in accents redolent of Mississippi or other deep South states, which seems to be about the average of sectional origins of occupation personnel.

Despite this fact, according to Maj. Gen. Doyle O. Hickey, deputy chief of staff of the Far East Command, himself a Mississippian, there has been only one minor instance of friction between whites and Negroes in Japan the last six months.

●

THIS IS TRUE in spite of and possibly because of the new army policy of racial integration. It appears that only a beginning of compliance with the armed services' order to wipe out segregation has as yet been made here in Japan.

I discussed this briefly at luncheon with Gen. MacArthur whose views on the necessity and practicability of abolishing racial discrimination in the armed forces seem to have grown materially since we last discussed the subject in 1945 during the battle of Manila.

But it is obvious that the use of racial friction in the United States by both Russia and Britain to create distrust of Americans in Asia has made Gen. MacArthur acutely aware of the problem.

THIS AWARENESS seemed to underlie much of his alarm over the worsening of the situation in Asia, especially in China.

"Even if Chiang Kai-shek had been the devil incarnate, we should have backed him to the limit as we should back every anti-Communist," MacArthur told us. He added that the race question plagues and complicates every phase of American diplomatic and military policy in the Far East.

That his concern is abundantly justified is to be seen on every hand here by the frequency of the questions asked of the two Negro members of the 'round the world Town Meeting seminar.

The questioners seem to find it almost impossible to understand why or how Negro Americans can continue to have faith in a country which does nothing, apparently, to stop lynching and discrimination, which is about all they hear about Negroes in the United States.



WALTER White

Southerners' Hypersensitivity To Criticism On Increase

THE hypersensitivity of Southerners to criticism grows with gratifying speed. Hodding Carter, editor and publisher of the Delta Democrat-Times of Greenville, Mississippi, recently wrote a lengthy article in **Collier's** entitled "New Rebel Yell in Dixie" in which he records what is being done by Southern white liberals as a means of proving that the South isn't as bad as recent news dispatches make it out to be. Mr. Carter, however, conspicuously omits mention of the fact that the chief motivation back of the charges he hails was initiated and in very large measure conducted wholly and solidly by Negroes.

Chicago Defender

But it wasn't Hodding Carter I had in mind as being hypersensitive. Recently I wrote a syndicated column about LOST BOUNDARIES, which is not only the finest film made to date about Negroes but one of the best and most honest moving pictures I have ever seen on any subject. A Birmingham insurance man became violently excited about that column and another one I had written about the Ku Klux Klan in Birmingham. He has written a most passionate letter of protest to the New York Herald Tribune characterizing my columns as "further evidence of determined effort to besmirch the good name of the South." Parenthetically, it would appear to me that so good a job has been done in besmirching the South by the Kluxers that it would be carrying coals to Newcastle for any of the rest of us to add to the successful efforts already consummated.

Sat. 10-22-49

But how does this gentleman argue his case? He does not deny the truth of the facts in the two columns I wrote. Instead he tells a lurid story of arriving in New York by plane and of being detoured on his way to his hotel by uniformed policemen. He claims he made inquiry and was told that during the afternoon a Negro family (Negro spelled with a small "n") had attempted to move into an apartment building whose white occupants had thrown the Negro family's belongings into the street.

Having heard of no disorder, I checked with Inspector Flath of the staff of the Commissioner of Police of New York City. Inspector Flath informs me that he has thoroughly checked all of the records for several months back and found that no such episode has ever occurred.

Then the Birmingham booster goes on to talk about the slums of New York, Cleveland, Detroit and Chicago and tells how appalled he has been by seeing the conditions under which Negroes live. But with the singular lack of logic which seems to afflict so many Southern whites when they discuss the race question, he fails to note one very significant difference—that even if his mythical account of a riot in New York City were true, New York City policemen were on the job to protect Negroes and to prevent rioting, while in Birmingham and many other Southern cities the police are either apathetic at best or at worst members of the mob. He shuts his eyes vigorously to the slums of Birmingham and the terrorism there to keep Negroes in the slums. He ignores the fact that bad as living conditions are for Negroes in many Northern cities, and no one in his right mind would deny that fact, at least Negroes can fight, use their vote, work at jobs they are qualified to do with less restrictions than in the South, and send their children to schools where there is no per capita differential in the amount of money spent for the education as contrasted with children of other races.

To cap the climax he concludes his diatribe with the statement that "All the world hates a hypocrite," and the gentleman seems to think that is a one-way adage which is not applicable to himself.



Down on Beale

By NAT D. WILLIAMS

31a mgr

The children run;
And the children play.
And getting a bit of fun,
They call it a day!
. . . SWILLY

Courier Bear With Me Nat. 10-1-49

MEMPHIS—The comments and sentiments presented in this "splurge" are not designed to "educate." Rather, they are presented to "eradicate" . . . to erase and give temporary release from many of the cares of the average day and provide a bit of light cogitation, for a nation, that shows an increasing tendency to take itself too seriously . . . and also, for a "race" which has begun to take on a long face. Methinks, "your folks" are forgetting how to laugh "right" . . . and that's bad . . . McShad! Imagine a Negro who can't laugh! Ugh!.

Now, for instance, it's this "corner's" view that the subject of high school athletics is a fairly important topic. Take the situation here in Memphis, for example. Bear with me, if I seem to be presenting too much "idle chatter."

But did you know that there is a town in the United States which has enough young Negro high school athletes to outfit a regulation armed service unit for modern warfare? Well, there is one. It's this town of Memphis . . . on the Mississippi . . . down here in the heart of "deep Dixie."

The city of Memphis, Tenn., can proudly mention and actually boast of the presence of five . . . yes, five (another will soon be added) high schools for the "education" of boys and girls of the colored persuasion. In addition there is a private high school . . . a Catholic institution for the training of Negro youth. We won't go into the subject of colleges and such institutions of "higher learning" which exist in Memphis for the training of Negroes. But, Mac, there are six Negro-attended high schools in Memphis proper, with two others in "hollerin'" distance of the town.

Now, at the outset, let it be recognized that the Memphis Negro high schools exist in a segregated school system. But, America wasn't built in a day. And the evils of "jim crow" won't be abolished in such a short time.

So, proceeding . . . let's talk about these young Negro athletes being developed in our mush-room growth and unique number of Negro high schools. Every one of the high schools has commendable athletic teams. They sport football elevens, organized in the biggest Negro prep school league in the nation, for a metropolitan area . . . they have boys and girls basketball outfits . . . they train and present track and field organizations, and produce some of the best boxing squads in the entire nation. High school athletic contests draw most of the biggest crowds in organized athletics in the Mid-South, so far as Negroes are concerned. The kids and their fans take their cues from such great sports figures as Joe Louis, Jackie Robinson, Jesse Owens, Buddy Young and others. They do a fair job of emulation.

* * *

Run, Run, Run!

But, this subject of Memphis' Negro high school athletes suggested a faster tempo when the "corner" got to thinking about it seriously. In the first place, the couple of hundreds of boys who play football . . . the dozens who play basketball . . . the scores who take part in track and field events, and the many who box, have something pretty significant to add to the score of the Negro's progress in the United States.

It must be remembered that America (I mean the United States) is a country which owes its military victories largely to the fact that it's variety of athletic interests indirectly prepares its young men for war. Competitive sports in the United States provide some of the finest athletes in the world. The result is that such youths are prepared to "run, run, and run" in the "direction" of the enemy when it comes time to lay the chips down. Such endeavors take the place of a strictly militarized state. They maintain our ideals of democracy, and at the same time "get us ready" for show-downs with guys who think they are supermen because of their military training. World War II proved that.

So, it must be admitted that it's something significant when a town in the United States, such as Memphis, is able to point to the number and variety of its youthful Negro athletes.

For instance, Mac, have you ever heard of the "Blues Bowl Game?" Now, there's something different. The "Blues Bowl Game" is the only event of its kind in the nation. It's a "bowl game" conceived and directed by the Beale Street version of the colored Elks of America. And the result is one of the most unique and different athletic events in the entire country. Each year, for at least ten, the "Blues Bowl Game" has featured the presentation of the outstanding Negro high school football teams of the Mid-South and Memphis, with invitations being extended to the leading teams of the same class and race in the nation. The Memphians have consistently proved their prowess.

Personally, this "corner" doesn't feel too much has been said or written in Negro circles about the event and its meaning. The idea was first suggested by Lieut. George W. Lee, outstanding Memphis leader and businessman. Lieutenant Lee's idea clicked. And today, the "Blues Bowl Game" is one of the Mid-South's greatest athletic events . . . so far as high school and grown-up folk in the Memphis area and the Mid-South are concerned. The result has been that Negro football players in Memphis and the Mid-South have something to look forward to and something to engage their best performances. And their performance has been something different . . . and something to satisfy the souls of those who realize that in the realm of sports . . . competitive sports . . . and in the realm of music and entertainment, the Negro has made his greatest strides toward full acceptance as a real American.

* * *

Bigger, Better Athletes

This "corner" feels that it is important to point out that Memphis . . . a "deep South town," is doing so much toward the development of true Americanism among its Negro citizens of tomorrow.

Now, the Memphis Board of Education has gone all out in support of the idea . . . thanks to the help of the youthful and dynamic superintendent of the local Board of Education, Supt. E. C. Ball. Mr. Ball is now speaking proudly of the new gymnasium for Negro schools . . . being constructed at a cost of more than a half million dollars . . . on the campus of Booker T. Washington High School. That means that Memphis will be able to provide bigger and better Negro athletes for the future. It also means that Memphis has a right "to pause for applause." What other Southern city is doing such a job? I'm waiting for your answer, Mac!!! The new gymnasium . . . to be used by all of the local Negro schools, will go a long way to make the South give the right answer to that question of "Is It True What They Say About Dixie?"

We're on the move down home here, Mac . . . read the signs of the times and see . . . now, whatchuhat!'

Task Force 61 Relaxes

USS Missouri Anchors In Guantanamo Bay

31a (Negro)

By P. BERNARD YOUNG JR.
Editor, Journal and Guide

GUANTANAMO BAY, Cuba—Task Force 61, consisting of the battleship Missouri, five destroyers, and four minelayers, hove to in this historic harbor Saturday morning (Sept. 3) for a holiday weekend of fun, recreation, and relaxation by the 5,000 midshipmen, bluejackets, officers, and civilian guests comprising the personnel of the training cruise.

Every conceivable recreational outlet was placed at task force's disposal by jovial Rear Admiral W. K. "Sol" Phillips.

This included swimming in three pools on the Naval Operating Base at Guantanamo Bay—a 45-square-mile area leased in perpetuity to Uncle Sam by a grateful Cuban republic—baseball, horseshoe, softball, basketball (yes, in September!), bowling, tennis, golf, horseback riding, picnicking, ping pong, pool, billiards, and soft, semi-hard and hard drinking.



MR. YOUNG

MODEST PRICES

Bar. 9-10-49

The latter was available at prices ranging from five to twenty-five cents for the best there is. Provisions were made for all ranks, from plebe midshipman to admiral.

The three nearest towns are off limits for all personnel, with the exception that liberty parties of 175 men maximum may go to Guantanamo City, escorted by 30 shore patrolmen, one party at a time.

The other two towns are Boqueron and Caimenera, both at the head of the bay, on opposite sides.

SLUM TOWNS

The latter is a cluster of slum-like shacks built on one of the tremendous salt flats ringing the bay and producing millions of tons of salt for commercial use annually. The other is slightly less miserable and has deep sea ships bringing supplies and taking back sugar, salt, and the famous Cuban cigars.

CUBAN TOUR

Civilian guests on the cruise were taken, Labor Day, to the three places just mentioned. One of the most interesting experiences of the cruise was our visit to the office of the mayor of Guantanamo City, Senor Emilio Bustillo.

He looks as if he is the twin brother of Mack Sauer, Leesburg, Ohio editor and radio commentator, and one of the Navy's guests on the cruise. When we walked into the city hall people nudged each other and spoke excitedly. Some of them probably thought the mayor's long-lost brother had returned.

A FATHER CONFESSOR

Senor Bustillo's office was packed with men and women of several races, all seeking help on their small daily problems. It was like a father holding a family council. This goes on, we were told, three times a week.

The mayor apologized for receiving us while his office was packed with his constituents — "but it would take the whole police force to move them out now that they are here."

CUBAN CHAMPAGNE

He ordered additional chairs, brought in for us, and proceeded to regale us with cool Cuban champagne. After chatting, he went into a nearby patio and posed with the group for pictures. Senor Bustillo spoke mostly through an interpreter, although he is a graduate of the Southern College of Pharmacy at Atlanta, Ga.

Because of the shortage of doctors in Cuba, pharmacists do a great deal of work ordinarily left to physicians at home. Doubling as mayor and one of the leading druggists in his city of 72,000 souls obviously was tiring to the little man—and in addition he is conducting a campaign for election to the House of Representatives at Havana.

ACTIVITIES HERE

Shortly after our arrival officers and civilians enjoyed a cocktail party at the Officers' Club Saturday evening. Sunday, Admiral Phillips personally conducted the party on a tour of the base.

Monday we made the tour of Guantanamo City, Caimenera, and Boqueron.

Tuesday was devoted to resting, buying of souvenirs, and sports.

On Wednesday the civilians were taken to Santiago, Cuba's second largest city, on the opposite end of the island.

BIG GUNS FIRED

Thursday evening we were scheduled to return to the Missouri (which put back to sea Tuesday morning, Sept. 6) to observe simultaneous firing of all gun batteries, including 20mm. and 40mm. machine guns, five-inch and sixteen-inch batteries, — the latter sends shells weighing over a ton a distance of 21 miles.

Friday noon we returned to the base for another weekend of relaxation.

On Monday, Sept. 12, the Missouri and accompanying ships put back to sea for a final series of gunnery practice, simulated submarine and aerial attacks, and other maneuvers. It was scheduled then to return to Guantanamo on or about Sept. 16, preliminary to the final leg of the cruise, which will put us back in Norfolk on Sept. 21.

SUBMARINE VOYAGE

The return to the Missouri on Thursday was to be by helicopter, weather permitting, or by destroyer and transfer to the Missouri by "high line trolley." Either way it had all the appearances at this writing of an interesting stunt.

Some time during our stay here we are scheduled to make a trip on a submarine which will simulate an attack on the task force.

Whether Guide readers will have a first-hand account of a submarine undersea voyage will depend on the status of your correspondent's good sense, or lack of it, at the time the word is passed for "SecNav guests prepare to board submarine!" Yours truly loves the sea. Undersea, candidly, is a horse of different hue.

Some of the "SecNav" guests were preparing to return to the States Tuesday (Sept. 6) by plane. As they were about to shove off for the air base here, Admiral Phillips—a gentleman with a distinct talent for droll wit — walked in and said the flight had been delayed three hours.

DROLL HUMOR

We were interested because one of the guests was going to carry this dispatch with him for delivery to the Guide from the Norfolk Naval Air Station.

Someone asked why the delay. "Because we have same carburetor trouble," he replied, "and we prefer to fix it on the ground."

ANOTHER CRUISE

One of the minelayer captains, Commander David Bill Jr., recalled that a Journal and Guide war correspondent was with him on the maiden war-time voyage of the U.S.S. Mason, first U. S. warship with a predominantly all Negro crew. Captain Bill skippered one of the five destroyer escorts, including the Mason which sailed out of Charleston in June 1944.

He came by our quarters at the Guantanamo Bay Base guest house the other evening and recounted several experiences on the Mason.

Spent a pleasant evening with Chief Steward Otto Burrough and his attractive wife, Mrs. Lucille Blount Burroughs. She was on the staff of the Guide before her marriage. Their friends in Norfolk and Portsmouth can write them at this address: Navy 115, Box 35-R, Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. Mrs. Burroughs is "infanticipating," as Winchell would say.

HURRICANE NOTES

Although the third hurricane of the season had all hands worried for a few days, we got into Guantanamo Bay without incident.

Just read in today's (Sept. 6) Papoose, base newspaper here, that "the hurricane, packing winds up to 95 miles per hour, swirled across the Atlantic between Bermuda and the Bahamas . . . toward the Eastern Seaboard" and that "a continued movement in that direction would send the storm toward the Chesapeake Bay to New York area."

Everybody hopes hurricane No. 4 won't make up about the time we steam out of here for Norfolk. Captain H. Page Smith of the "Big Mo" says the best hurricane seamanship "is to get the hell out of its way."

FISHING TRIP

We forgot to say a few paragraphs back, where we summarized activities here, that on Thursday we went deep sea fishing in the admiral's yacht, hoping to land tarpon, amberpack, grouper, or one of the other big ones that abound in these famous waters.

We'll report later whether the big ones got away.

Having been to France, we'll sign off by saying au revoir; and being in Cuba, by saying, hasta manana.

Task Forces Engages In Hush, Hush Maneuvers

Journal and Guide Sept 9-24-49

By P. BERNARD YOUNG JR.
Editor, Journal and Guide

USS MISSOURI AT SEA — By Navy Radio—Task Force 61, the ten-warship convoy carrying 1200 midshipmen from Annapolis and seven college NROTC units on a seven-week training cruise to see European and Caribbean waters, saved a strictly hush-hush operation for the past week-end and some of its most spectacular manuevers and operations for the final 32 hours before dropping anchor in Hampton Roads on Tuesday, Sept. 20.



MR. YOUNG

Nothing can be said about the secret operation except that it involved a combination of techniques and material used but once before in the history of warfare.

SEAS MARKED WITH CALMNESS

Sunday at sea was marked by the calmness of breath-takingly blue seas so recently raked by four hurricanes, the quiet reverance that settles over men o war when tolling bells and the buglers church calls are sounded successively for Protestant and Catholic services, and the word is passed by intercommunicator to keep silence, the smoking lamp is out, knock off all card games, knock off all unnecessary work.

TASK FORCE DAILY

An amusing and much-anticipated hijinks was the Admiral-For-A-Day treatment accorded the seaman lucky enough to get the copy of cruise news carrying the millionth page of the Task Force daily paper.

An impressive sense of history was given the 5000 men in the task force Friday just before sunset when tiny San Salvador Island hove into view eleven miles off our port side as we traversed the crooked island passage from the Caribbean Sea to the Atlantic.

This island was the first land the new world sighted by ristopher Columbus on his yage of discovery in 1492. en with the naked eye, two ıdmarks on the eight by eleymile island were visible from igh vantage point on the Misıri—the tall monument erect- to Columbus' memory and lone lighthouse on San Sal-

All of the privileges a sean dreams of and none of t' e ors of a sailor's day that be- s at five-thirty a. m. daily h the order, up all idlers. s the reward to lucky Boyd Talgeda, white, of the USS ser, who served with a navdemolition scout and raider behind the Japanese lines China during the past war.

ST NAVIGATIONAL AID

he light failed to give its y-ten-seconds flash for it five minues as the island dropping out of sight behind It was the last such navigaal aid we were to see until beacon at dreaded Cape Hat-, N. C., fabled graveyard of s, was sighted Monday night.

n Salvador has a popula- of 700, is owned by Great ain now, and derives its livelihood chiefly from sheep and cattle raising. Columbus saw it first on the night of Oct. 11-12, 1492, after riding out a gale.

Knowing that the admiral of the ocean sea voyage in ships roughly equivalent to large size launches of today and weighing less than one of the Missouri's 16 inch guns, that he navigated by methods and instruments today's mariners would laugh at, and rode out safely both Atlantic and Caribbean storms. in the Task Force are apt remember the sight of San vador without a deepened ect for Americas' discover-

ARDS WON

eaman Talgeda ("Mr. Mil-th Page") won the follow- among other things: "Ex- from all shipboard routine the day. Helicopter ride and sting certificate. Submarine , official guest of Task Force nmander aboard Missouri,

akfast in bed in a room high the foremast tower (next r neighbor of Harper and ıng). Souvenirs of many ds, free cigarettes, authori- o go to the head of any chow ice cream (Gedunk in navy-) lines. News coverage and tos of his activities for pas of his choice. A meal of choice from the flag (Adal's) mess, guest of honor at day night Happy Hour on ship, all white uniforms ned and pressed, ten orders oda fountain to be delivered, course, and the works in or's barber shop.

CTACULAR CLIMAX

he spectacular climax of the successful cruise began at a. m. EST Monday and involved bomber (mine-laying) planes from Patuxent Air Station, Md., fast jet planes from Jacksonville, Fla., submarines and mine-sweepers from Charleston, S. C., our own ten ships, and on Tuesday morning over fifty carrier based planes simulating attack.

Off Cape Roman, S. C., ship's subs, and planes laid mine fields, which were later swept clean by mine force ships, aided by helicopters.

At some point in this operation Task Force 61 had to fend off the jet plane attack—an effort requiring the greatest skill and speed in using even the miracles of radar, because of the tremendous speed approaching that of sound, of jet-propelled aircraft.

The jet planes, which are heard only after they have passed, impressed upon all hands some of the aircraft and anti-aircraft problems involved in modern and future warfare.

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...pher Gordon Parks is
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...his previous work for
...been on a free lance
...off to Europe on an as-
...k and was wined and dined
...New York Press Club,
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...roes Appointed ... White Daily Staffs

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... Such papers as Brooklyn
... Eagle with Milton Smith as
... editor, Toledo Blade; William
... as reporter, Chicago Her-
...American; James Burr, report-
... Chester Times; Hanon, report-
... Illinois State Journal; Hiram
... staff artist, New York
... Ted Poston, reporter, N. Y.
... Edgar Rouzeau, N. Y.
... Geo. Streator, reporter, Ft.
...ne News-Sentinel; Gerald
... layout artist, Logan Ban-
... Wm. Thomas, compositor, N.
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... N. Y. World-Telegram;
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...roes Appointed ... White Daily Staffs

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... editor, Toledo Blade; William
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... N. Y. World-Telegram;
...ris, makeup man.

Minneapolis Daily Hires First Negro In Its News Department

Minneapolis, Minn.—The Minneapolis Tribune and Star became one of the less than a dozen metropolitan daily newspapers on November 16, to employ an American of Negro ancestry in its editorial department.

The new staff member is Carl T. Rowan, a former member of the Afro-American staff and a staff writer for the Minneapolis Spokesman and Recorder papers of these cities.

Rowan, a navy ensign in World War II, and a member of the Naval Reserve, hails from McMinnville, Tenn. He attended Tennessee State College, in Nashville, Washburn university in Topeka, Kas.; Oberlin College in Ohio, and the University of Minnesota, from which he received his master's degree in journalism in August.

He is unmarried, 23 years old and a member of Sigma Delta Chi journalism fraternity.

As far as can be ascertained, only seven metropolitan dailies in the country employ Negroes in their editorial-news departments. They are: New York Times, New York Herald-Tribune, New York Post, Chester (Pa.) Times, Toledo Blade, a Cleveland, Ohio, daily, and a San Bernadino, Calif., paper. The Chicago, Herald-Examiner uses the sports editor of the Pittsburgh Courier on a part-time basis.

Orrin Evans Wins ... Publishers Award

Chester Killer Story Named Best in State

Orrin C. Evans, member of the Chester Times staff, was awarded first prize for the best spot news story of 1948 by the Pennsylvania Newspaper Publishers Association on Friday.

The award was presented at the annual dinner of the PNPA during its three-day convention at Penn State College.

Evans, only full-time colored member of a daily paper in the State, also won honorable mention in the sports events news story classification.

Wrote On Boxing School

He won first prize for a story on Melvin Collins, the mad gunman, who killed eight persons and wounded five others in Chester last November before committing suicide.

His sports story dealt with a "school" for heavyweight fighters planned by Jack Dempsey and James (Baron) Dougherty.

Served On Record

Well-known to readers in this area, Evans, one-time member of the AFRO staff, was for many years a reporter-rewrite man with the Philadelphia Record which ceased publication in 1947.

He has been employed in the same classification with the Chester newspaper for a year.

31a 1949

Negro on White Paper(Macon Telegraph)

Special Editor for Ga. Daily Covers Wide Area

Afro-American 7-30-49

BALTIMORE

A working guest in Baltimore last week was Mrs. Minnie D. Singleton, for 20 years editor of the colored department of the Macon, Ga. daily papers, the Telegraph and News.

Mrs. Singleton was covering for her newspapers the convention of the National Baptist Deacons of America at New Shiloh Baptist Church, Baltimore.

In the course of her career, Mrs. Singleton has covered many national conventions of insurance organizations, medical associations, the Urban League, the Congress of Parent-Teacher Associations, the AME Church, the CME Church, the Baptist Association.

Events and meetings of national interest have taken her as far from Macon as Denver, Col.; Kansas City, Mo., and Chicago.

Allowed Plenty Space

Mrs. Singleton is in complete charge of the advertising and news for her division of the paper.

She did the feature story on Jackie Robinson and Roy Campenella when they made their initial visit to Macon with the Brooklyn Dodgers this year.

She recalls that when she started work with the paper 20 years ago, only one column was devoted to news concerning colored citizens. Now they get a full page daily and two full pages in the Sunday edition.

Started as Typist

She began work as an assistant typist, but made such an impression with the officials that when the editor for the colored section, E.E. Butler, died a few months later, she was promoted to his position.

Now she has a private office with three assistants of her own. They are Miss. Ella B. Cash, Miss Amanda Collins and Mrs. M.G. Stevens.

The company's opinion of her work is evidenced in this letter to her from the late editor, W.T. Anderson, who said:

"If we could get one white person as efficient as you in news and advertising work as exemplified in your department, we shouldn't need but two people to get out our two papers — you on the colored side and one white person on the other side."

Former Teacher

Mrs. Singleton, a widow, has one daughter, Mrs. A Bernice Young, a graduate of West Virginia State College, who is now working on her master's degree at Columbia University.

Mrs. Young was the first colored physical education director of high schools in Macon. Prior to that, she was a physical education teacher at Albany State College.

Poston of The Post

Was the swarthy, stocky young man really Baron Edward von Rothkirch or merely plain Eddie Tkatch, a slick smoothie from Hillman, Minn.? Already Drew Pearson had spoken of him as the American leader of the anti-Russian underground in Poland and Germany . . . a thorn in the side" of both the Reds and the State Department.

Then Igor Cassini, the gossipy "Cholly Knickerbocker" of Hearst's New York Journal-American, did a cloak-and-dagger interview with him, complete with picture and page 1 by-line. Son of a count and countess, he boasted a price on his head of 10,000,000 rubles from Stalin himself, Cassini confided. But Paul Sann, shrewd city editor of The New York Post Home News, was skeptical. Sann told one of his ablest newshounds, Ted Poston, 42, to look into the enigmatic "Baron X."

Poston looked. From the Anti-Defamation League he found that the sharp "Baron" had been just about everything in his 29 years. The rest came long-distance from Minnesota. By last week he was ready to unravel the story in a Post Home News series: Eddie Tkatch was as phony as a $3 bill. At the time he was supposed to have served with Göring's Kondor Legion in Spain, Tkatch was a Minneapolis high-school boy. When he



Ted Poston thinks he is unique

supposedly was fighting the Reds under cover, he was being arrested in Minnesota for strike-breaking.

Scooper: The Tkatch tale was typical of Poston's thoroughness. A newsman 23 years and a Post man since 1937, the spindly, bemustached 6-footer has upturned more scoops than he can remember. He was first to interview Wendell Willkie when Willkie appeared in Philadelphia to work for the 1940 Republican nomination. Willkie was shaving in a hotel bathroom and Poston "took the only available seat."

At the Democratic convention last summer a Negro elevator operator tipped him off to the Dixiecrats' first secret caucus. Later a states'-rights leader, a Southern senator, kept him supplied with tips.

Kentucky-born, he rode to New York from Savannah on a cattle boat, was a dining-car waiter, a weekly reporter, and a WPA project writer. Bitterly anti-Communist, he nevertheless accepted an invitation to come to Moscow to appear in a movie (that was never made) in 1932. He returned more anti-Red than ever. He spent five years in Washington as a New Deal publicist and is so close to Harry S. Truman that he has been offered a job as a special assistant to the President.

He was a Post space-rate writer (30 cents an inch) in 1937 when he asked for a staff job. "OK," the city editor told him. "Go out and get an exclusive story tonight, and a job is yours." Dejectedly Poston trudged home. As he got off the subway he saw a mob chasing a bleeding man. He had his story: The victim was a process server, his pursuers were Father Divine's "Angels."

Ted Poston believes he was the first (and maybe is the only) Negro general-assignments reporter on a big-town daily.

DOESN'T LIKE WHAT HE SEES

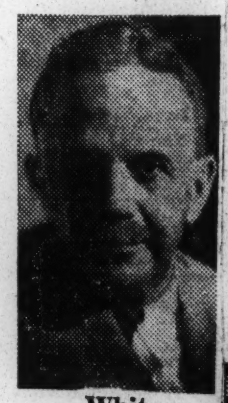
White Views the Filibusterers

BY WALTER WHITE
Secretary National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

WASHINGTON—What manner of men are "the Flapjaws," the pungent name the Chicago Sun-Times has applied to the filibusters now staging a sit-down strike in the Senate?

There is the aging Tom Connally with his unique but now thinning page boy hairdo who, three days after being given a "Brotherhood" award in New York City, denounced proposed laws against mob murder as the work "of pressure groups covered with slime."

A decade ago Connally's mordant wit used to evoke laughter from the galleries. But today it brings only scowls of disapproval from Americans who have been taught by war that human misery is no longer a matter of jest.


White

Then, too, there is the venerable, able but reactionary former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Georgia. Were he as briefly educated as some of his colleagues, Senator George's deliberate misstatements of fact might be attributed to ignorance or mental incompetence.

The senior Senator from the state of the Talmadges and the Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan can offer no such defense for his passionate assertion that the FEPC bill asserts "you can't select your personal associates as well as your business associates," which Senator George knows is a total falsehood.

●

NEXT THERE is the reedy-voiced junior Senator from Georgia, the "quarterback" of the filibusterers.

Senator Russell's argument, voiced repeatedly, is that civil rights legislation is aimed at "penalizing one section of the nation."

Since lynching and disfranchisement and racial segregation are more prevalent in the South than anywhere else his plaintive arguments are analogous to the pleas of a man on trial for the murder of his mother and father to "have mercy on a poor orphan."

The baby Flapjaw wanders continuously around the floor of the Senate, often sitting directly under the lectern of whatever filibusterer has the floor.

●

RUSSELL LONG seems afflicted with a nervous mannerism of perpetually drawing his hand across his mouth like a beer drinker wiping away the suds.

Unhappily for Huey's son, he seems never to have been given the advice that "it is wiser to remain silent at the risk of being thought a fool than it is to open one's mouth and remove all doubt."

These are the leaders of the current filibuster before whom the Senate Democratic leadership quivers in abject fear and with whom a dismaying number of Republican Senators are playing ball.

Their "argument", advanced repeatedly, is that any curb on filibustering deprives Senators of the opportunity to inform the country about faulty legislation.

What are the facts? All bills introduced in either house of the Congress are subject to hearings which vary in length, depending upon the importance of the legislation and the Congressional and public interest of the measure.

●

AT THESE HEARINGS preferential treatment is accorded to members of the Congress for their testimony.

Then there is discussion on the floor of the House of Representatives and the Senate during which any Senator opposed to a measure has ample opportunity to expose the weaknesses of any piece of legislation, real or imaginary.

No attempt at cloture is usually made until one or two weeks of filibuster have clearly demonstrated that a filibuster is in progress.

The total time up to this point for the discussion of the merits or demerits of any bill usually runs from four to 12 weeks.

Can any intelligent American doubt, under these circumstances, that from four to 12 weeks of examination of any bill introduced in the Congress is not sufficient time for members of the Congress to stir the country to opposition to any bill which is harmful to democracy?



Watch Your Congressman On Civil Rights Issue

I DON'T want to raise fears before there is justification for them.

Nor do I want to impugn unfairly the motives of any Senator or Congressman on the civil rights issue.

But a pattern of evasion seems to be emerging among some members of the Congress which is gravely disturbing so far as implementation of President Truman's civil rights program is concerned. At this point I want to name no names.

Instead, I would like to urge upon each one of you that you follow closely the votes, statements and actions of your Senators on the proposed amendment of the Senate rules to permit cloture to stop filibusters by a majority instead of the present two-thirds vote.

One Senator who is in an exceedingly strategic position either to push through the civil rights bills or to sidetrack them attempted this kind of argument a day or two ago. "Aren't Negroes interested in housing, mimimum wage, federal aid to education legislation and amendment of the Taft-Hartley Act?" he asked me. I assured him we were. "Then wouldn't you be willing to let the civil rights bills wait until we can get through some of this less controversial legislation?" was his next question.

I pointed out to him that for thirty years that had been the method of defeating civil rights legislation—waiting until the end of the sessions of Congress to take up such measures thereby insuring the success of filibusters. I told him that it was not a question of "either—or," that Negro voters are interested in jobs, education and equitable labor-management relations but that we are also as concerned with the right to vote, to get and retain jobs we are qualified to fill, to be free from the constant fear of mob violence, to smash the chains of segregation and to live in simple human dignity.

I learned later that day that this Senator had used the same tactics in reverse on Philip Murray, James Carey and other CIO leaders. He had asked them if labor was not interested in the civil rights bills as well as amendment of the Taft-Hartley Act. The Senator had received the same answer from Philip Murray as the one I had given him—that labor is interested in labor legislation and civil rights.

The professional racists from the South today wear a most becoming mantle of humility. They know now who is boss after the debacle of the Dixiecrat movement. Being politicians they are concerned—gravely concerned—with patronage and committee assignments. They are therefore playing possum, but no sane person is fooled by their tactics. It is therefore imperative both for the Democrats and the Republicans to stop filibusters once and for all by amending the Senate rules. Unless this is done, President Truman's demand that there be no compromise is going to be neglected. Once again you and I are going to be left holding the bag. You and I can prevent this by watching with eager eye the twits and turns of political maneuvering in Washington today. Let's get the facts straight and then hold to strict accountability every member of the Congress who sits in Washington because you and I voted to seat them there.

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Walter White, Citing Hostility Born of Generations of Western 'Arrogance,' Bids Truman Invite Asian Union Chiefs to Capital for Talks

By Walter White

A gratifying maturity of American opinion is to be seen in the reaction to formation of the Asian Union at the recent meeting in New Delhi. Part of this opinion is undoubtedly due to outrage and alarm at the cold bloodedness of the Indonesians. Part of it is due to faith in the leadership of Pandit Nehru. Some of it is born of hope that the Asians as "the rising tide of communism in Asia may be stayed. nationalism and social revolution" if not stopped, by the is somewhat premature and inaccurate. Threatened on one side an Asian Union. by communism and on the other by imperialist exploitation and the creation of an Asian Union and China, the creation of an Asian Union was inevitable. The billion Asians as "the rising tide of nationalism and social revolution" is somewhat premature and inaccurate. Threatened on one side by communism and on the other by imperialist exploitation and the creation of an Asian Union and China, the creation of an Asian Union was inevitable. The billion

Moscow's apprehension, expressed by Tass, that the new coalition may be preliminary to the creation of an alliance similar to the Western European Union and the creation of an Asian Union and China, the creation of an Asian Union was inevitable. The billion

Moscow's apprehension, expressed by Tass, that the new coalition may be preliminary to the creation of an alliance similar to the Western European Union and the creation of an Asian Union and China, the creation of an Asian Union was inevitable. The billion

Equality Called Price of Asians' Friendship in Future For Co-operation With Whites

of the world or is forced into a union of colored versus white peoples will be largely determined by the white world itself. It is significant that there were present at New Delhi representatives from Africa as well as Asia.

Arrogance Has Bred Hostility

What has happened in China is an ominous warning of what can develop throughout Asia and Africa. World War II ended forever the myth of "white superiority." "The Asians . . . control the bulk of the world's natural resources and by far the greatest reservoir of the world's man power" without whose co-operation "industrial America and industrial Europe would sink slowly into paralysis," writes John Hohenberg. That co-operation is going to be gained only if America and Europe demonstrate swiftly that they are now willing to treat these brown, yellow and black people with full equality.

Many generations of racial arrogance and ruthless exploitation have created an enormous hostility and suspicion of the white world among these billion people. Oriental exclusion laws based on skin color in the United States; the Asiatic land tenure act in the Union of South Africa; the vacillation of the United Nations with respect to the former Italian colonies in Africa and the former Germany colony of Southwest Africa; the perpetuation of race discrimination in the United States and the industrious propagandizing in Asia and Africa by the Moscow radio of news of that discrimination; the use by the Dutch of guns, tanks and planes made in America against the Indonesians—these and many more items of similar character form a distressing handicap which we have precious little time to overcome. It is this long-standing record of contemptuous treatment by thoughtless and aggressive whites which rankles in the memories of the people of Asia and Africa, and it must overcome if the friendship and trust of this huge portion of the world's peoples are to be won and civilization is to survive.

But it is not only the past which must be atoned for. The present is equally charged with disaster. The American delegation to the recent Paris assembly of the U. N. came perilously close to voting for ruthless carving up of the Italian colonies in North Africa. The ultimate decision was postponed to the next meeting of the U. N. Assembly at Lake Success in April.

People Keep Watch

Asia and Africa will be watching to see what will then be done about the fate of these peoples and areas. Asia and Africa are also watching the attempt of Great Britain to establish surreptitiously an East African Federation and the efforts to combine the two Rhodesias into a new dominion which would grossly violate both the spirit and letter of the U. N. trusteeship provisions. They view apprehensively the current trend among certain colonial powers to create "self-governing" dominions and colonies for the specific purpose of withdrawing those areas from coverage by the recently adopted Declaration of Human Rights.

An immediate step which can be taken is herewith recommended. President Truman, on behalf of the people and government of the United States, should invite Pandit Nehru and other leaders of the Asian Union to come to America as soon as possible for conferences on how they and we can work together for peace and equal opportunity.

WHITE URGES SENATE TO END FILIBUSTERS

Declaring that "we talk glibly about human rights but are unwilling to do anything about it," Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, urged Senate leaders yesterday to vote for an amendment permitting cloture by a majority vote and stop the long and disgraceful filibuster on the civil rights program by the Southern states."

He spoke at the twenty-sixth annual conference of the New York Women's Trade Union League at the Women's City Club, 34 East Fiftieth Street. Nearly 100 delegates of American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations unions attended.

"We are going to lose more territory to the Communists because for many generations we have used idiotic notions of racial superiority among the colonial peoples of the world," Mr. White declared.

The time left to prove that democracy is better than totalitarianism is short, he said, adding: "The people of Asia, Africa and Europe look to us when we sign declarations about human rights but continue to permit lynchings, discrimination and herding of minorities in ghettos in the United States."

Miss Rose Schneiderman, president of the New York Women's Trade Union League, announced that the organization would send telegrams to President Truman and Senate leaders urging support of Mr. White's proposal.

Parties Warned of Voters' Ire If They Fail to Bar Filibusters

Walter White Says They Won't Have Much of a Product to Sell in 1950 and 1952 Campaigns if They Do Not Take Decisive Action Now

By Walter White

Senator Kenneth Wherry, stalwart Republican conservative, overwhelmed usually voluble newspaper men in a radio interview from Omaha during the recent meeting of the Republican National Committee. The only reason for Republican disaster last November, the Nebraska Senator vehemently alleged, was failure of his party "to sell our product to the voters in language simple enough for them to understand."

Meanwhile, in Washington his Republican fellow Senators, with but one or two exceptions, along with a not inconsiderable number of Northern Democrats, are busily engaged in making a record which may make futile the ringing of doorbells of Americans concerned with human rights, especially Negroes. The occasion is the hearings on various proposals to amend Senate rule XXII, which deals ineffectively in its present form with filibusters.

Southerners opposed to liberalization of the Senate rules entered the hearings with a strange but becoming humility. Chastened by the stinging defeat suffered in the attempt of the Dixiecrats to capitalize on race hatred, patently anxious about political patronage and their future status in the Democratic party and embarrassed at being on the defensive for the first time since the Civil War, they were much less sure of themselves.

"Powder-Puff Opposition"

One of their leaders recently admitted that a poll of the Senate had revealed that they could not prevent amendment of the rules to authorize cloture by a simple majority of the Senate (instead of the present two-thirds) if the Northern Senators were determined and sincere in keeping their campaign pledges to amend the rules.

But as the hearings progressed the gun-shy Southerners became much less deferential as they saw the powder-puff opposition which confronted them. The smile of Senator John C. Stennis, who succeeded the late Senator Bilbo, but who is manifestly a much abler and more honorable man than his predecessor, became less strained.

The son and successor to the Senate seat of the late Huey Long waxed increasingly vocal and belligerent, eventually threatening Senator Henry Cabot Lodge with blocking all legislation in the Eighty-first Congress if the filibusters did not have their way.

Perceiving the weakness and timorousness of the opposition, the Southerners pressed their advantage, wailing that legislation is being aimed "at our section of the nation." Inasmuch as lynching, the poll tax, educational and job discrimination and rigid segregation are most rife in their section, their injured shouts sounded like nothing so much as the appeal of the defendant on trial for murdering his mother and father "to have pity on a poor orphan."

Filibuster "on Defensive"

Several advocates of the two-thirds rule were asked why they did not advocate election of Senators by that proportion instead of the present majority, since they said they believed such an arrangement is necessary to preserve freedom of debate. Some who had won their Senate seats by slender margins shuddered at what they obviously considered a most irrelevant question.

A significant revelation during these hearings, however, is that public opinion in the United States has so materially shifted on the issue of filibustering that its practitioners are painfully on the defensive. All members of the Senate are acutely aware that the problem cannot be evaded much longer. With few exceptions, they would give almost anything, including principle, to duck the issue.

Therein lies a moral weakness which is as evident on one side of the aisle as on the other. But they feel the uncomfortably hot breath of public opinion, almost as heated in the South as in other parts of the country, blowing upon their Senatorial necks. All but the most unintelligent among them are awakening to the fact that they won't have much of a product to sell the voters, come 1950 and 1952, if the disgrace of filibustering is not ended by decisive action now.

A Sign of Political Change in the South

By Walter White

THE most dramatic because of its unexpectedness, and the most heartening evidence of the political metamorphosis instudents of the South is the appointment by Governor W. Kerr Scott of North Carolina of Dr. Frank P. Graham as the new United States Senator. In North Carolina last week I found the politicians stunned and the people jubilant. More than fifty persons had been urged upon Governor Scott for the appointment by various political factions. It would appear that no one except Governor Scott and Senator Graham knew that North Carolina's most distinguished citizen was being considered for the post.

It has taken superlative courage and vision for the quiet and diminutive new Senator to carve the basis of these assaults from ex-Governor Scott and despite the fantastic charges of the most vicious character which have been made in any part of the United States and especially in the South. Dr. Graham has made the University of North Carolina one of the truly great educational institutions of America. He has imbued hundreds of thousands of its students with the quiet intelligence and objective ability to act upon facts rather than prejudices which has characterized Dr. Graham's own life.

Inevitably he has become the target of both Left and Right. Backwoods legislators have attempted to cut appropriations for the university because of his belief that education in the South should embrace all the knowledge available. At the same time, Dr. Graham has been the target of attacks by Communists. It would be a mistake on the part of the post-war Left and extreme Right to have got to be re-elected." And Senator, who admitted publicly that he would not have been elected

for the support of Negro voters, promptly scurried into the camp of the filibusterers as soon as he settled down safely into a six-year term.

Perhaps Senator Graham's appointment to the Senate and the kind of leadership he will give there may toughen the character and sharpen the intelligence of his fellow Southerners and of the Senate at large through demonstration of the fact that one can refuse to be a slave to bigotry and tradition and at the same time be successful in politics.

ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Warning Issued to Democrats

The Detroit Tribune Detroit, Mich. Sun. 2-20-49

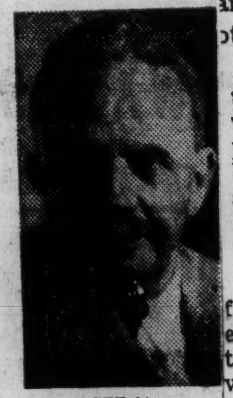
BY WALTER WHITE
Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

WASHINGTON—The political complexion of the United States Senate in 1950 may possibly have been determined by a small meeting in New York City on Feb. 5.

Sun. 2-20-49

Representatives of 21 national organizations whose memberships played a decisive role in giving Democrats control of both Senate and House of the 81st Congress bluntly served notice that "no other recourse will be given us except control of the Senate in 1950 to the Republicans" if the Democratic Senate leadership allows that party's civil rights pledges to be nullified by blustering Dixiecrats.

That such a threat can be fulfilled and is no idle boast is evident on examination of the politically powerful groups which spoke. Organized labor was represented by both the AFL and the CIO. Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, women's and Negro organizations were there. With the exception of the Americans for Democratic Action none of the powerful bodies could be classified as "professional" political ones. Instead they spoke for millions of independent voters who, during the last 16 years, have taken away from political machines the deciding of national and local elections.



White

Sun. 2-20-49

It would have been enlightening, and probably embarrassing, to the present Senate majority leadership to have heard the discussion of their apparent surrender to date to the threats of Southern Senators to prevent action on any legislation in the 81st Congress, unless amendment to the Senate rules against filibuster is shelved. Speaker after speaker commented sharply on the failure of the majority leadership to make any visible effort to bring up the issue and settle it once for all.

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THE FEARS OF A double-cross on the civil rights issue or, at best, timidity which would cause disastrous postponement were justified by subsequent revelation in Washington, that a "Gentleman's Agreement" had been entered into to postpone, until after Feb. 28, consideration of amendment of the rules or any other important legislation.

It is generally believed that this is a deliberate attempt to weaken organized labor's support of civil rights legislation by refusing to take up rules amendment until the Taft-Hartley Act is ready for Senate action.

Sun. 2-20-49

Since it is estimated that from four to eight weeks will be devoted to debate on amendment of the Taft-Hartley Act, this "deal" will permit appropriations bills, particularly for national defense and housing, to reach the Senate calendar and be ready for action when the Taft-Hartley vote is eventually taken.

By this maneuvering the majority leadership hopes to avoid a showdown on civil rights.

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IN ITS WARNING to the Democrats, the conferees by no means gave a clean bill of health to the GOP. It was clearly recognized that with but a very few exceptions the Republicans are equally guilty of chicanery on the issue.

There were no illusions that turning over control of the Senate 21 months from now to reactionary Republicans would create much of a change. But the responsibility lies squarely on the shoulders of the majority party.

Sun. 2-20-49

Just as the independent voters in pivotal states defeated Republicans in 1948 because of their failure as the majority party in the 80th Congress, so are the Democrats in line for the same treatment in 1950 if they fail to keep their solemn pledges.



WALTER White

Girl, 17, Makes Mr. W.W. Sit Up And Take Notice

TO every person who writes and speaks on behalf of a cause there come moments of wondering if those words find fruitful soil. And ever so often one's heart is gladdened to learn, sometimes in unlikely places, that principles of freedom and determination to fight against injustice and segregation have taken root.

The Defender

Such an occasion happened recently when I was invited to deliver the commencement address at the Lincoln High School in Wheeling, West Virginia. On the way from the airport, Philip N. Reed, the able and well-educated principal, described the program. "There will be several musical numbers and two orations and then you will speak," he told me. Having been subjected to a great many "orations" by high-school graduates I shuddered slightly in anticipation of another one dealing with superficialities. I was wrong.

Chicago, Ill.

A quiet, dark brown-skinned girl who appeared to be about seventeen years of age rose to speak on the subject, "National Status in a Changing World". For a high school student, I thought to myself, that is a pretty large order to cover in ten minutes. But Bettye Lou Halston, in a 900-word speech, concentrated an amazing amount of material on the effect of denial of freedom to American minorities. Starting out with a quotation of Lenin's scornful definition of democracy as "a state that recognizes the subordination of the minority by the majority; an organization which permits systematic violence by one class against the other, by one section of the population against another," Miss Halston went on to point out that world prestige is being lost by the United States, which loss may be irreparable if the democracies do not proceed immediately to demonstrate by deed and not by word alone that Lenin's definition is not necessarily true.

Miss Halston went on from there to point out the embarrassment American diplomats are encountering in international assemblies when they attempt to explain that the United States both believes in democracy and at the same time permits bestialities based on hate and prejudice. She went on from there to demolish the myth that there can ever be any equality within the framework of segregation. "There is no liberty and justice under segregation," she declared with quiet but unmistakable emphasis. Finally she pointed out the necessity of "shared responsibility of state and federal courts" to assure the Constitutional rights belonging to all American citizens to each citizen. She predicted that out of the chaos of race relations and the contradiction between what the United States practices and what it preaches there must arise a new South free from racial and other bondage and a parallel movement North of the Mason and Dixon line to continue the struggle which affects all of the United States.

Sat. 7-9-49.

Admittedly these ideas are not precisely new. They have during the past decade or so been hammered away at in the press and in many magazine articles, newspapers and books. But it is both significant and deeply gratifying that a youngster in a segregated high school in a West Virginia town sees so clearly

a Negro—Levi Jackson the great Negro halfback
ped" by not one but three of Yale's most exclu-
—Skull and Bones, Scroll and Key, and Berzelius.
nat the first two fraternities go through a some-
itiation. When members of the fraternities and
ir wrists and mix their blood, I can see Bilbo
nore that ever at this offer to "mongrelize" white
ricans.

4-3-21-49

assage of the law by the Connecticut State Legis-
n segregation in its national guard, it is rumored
nding officer of one unit refused to admit four
s until a vote had been taken by the white mem-
such a poll is of questionable constitutionality, it
white members voted almost unanimously to ac-
egroes and any other qualified ones who applied.
democracy seems to be "bursting out all over."
segregation policy of the Maryland Theatre, 'way
Baltimore, has been abandoned and the theatre
persons regardless of race or color" following two
ng by the Baltimore branch of the NAACP. In
the Catholic Committee of the South has just
segregation in Catholic churches, that all Catho-
professional schools immediately admit qualified
and that immediate steps be taken to admit them
bers of the church were urged to take the lead in
egation in all the nation's schools of higher learn-
there seems to be no objection—with the possible
ose fined—to the imposition of $250 fine against



WALTER White

Bowles Says Democracy 'Bursting Out All Over'

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CHESTER BOWLES, the fighting liberal governor of Connecticut, declared the other day that "On the surface the situation in Congress may seem discouraging but I believe we have been making really terrific progress in the last two or three years (towards full equality) where it counts most—with the people."

Governor Bowles was not thinking about himself or Connecticut whose governor he became in a surprise political upset last November. But Connecticut has offered surprising evidence during recent months that he is right in his optimism. For the first

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members of the Gloucester School Board for not obeying a federal court order to equalize Negro and white educational facilities.

Some may say that these are isolated instances of increased human decency and justice. I prefer to believe, and there is considerable evidence to back up such a belief, that there is a rising tide of concern with human liberty that is springing up and growing all over the country. Ku Kluxers still march in Georgia and bombings of the homes of Negroes in Chicago still require police protection for 50 or more homes. Congress continues to have the jitters about civil rights legislation. But the people themselves are taking the lead in doing something about freedom. Perhaps in time even a frightened Congress and a stubborn Marcus Heiman of the National Theatre in Washington will also get moving.



WALTER White

How Should Negro Be Paid For Truman Aid

A TOP flight Washington correspondent for one of the major wire services asked me a question recently, the answer to which I frankly don't know.

"Why have there been no Negroes included among the vast number of persons named to office by President Truman since the election — in view of the fact that it was the Negro vote in California, Ohio and Illinois which gave him his margin of victory?" he asked. I explained that political jobs for individuals are less important to the masses of Negroes than legislation and executive action to assure jobs, the ballot and freedom from segregation and discrimination to Negroes as a whole.

"But don't you think that Negroes as an important and integral part of the American people are entitled to their share of jobs," he asked, "especially when the Negro vote in California, Ohio and Illinois gave the Democrats the margin of victory?" he asked. Naturally I assured him I did believe this to be true.

But what disturbs some of us most are rumors that certain politicians, white and colored, are demanding that no Negro be appointed to office unless he is "one of the clubhouse boys," whose claim to patronage is based on ward politics instead of ability or character. Franklin Roosevelt did not appoint many Negroes to important posts either. But he established one precedent of inestimable value—he selected men and women on the basis of ability, irrespective of whether they had worked in the ward politics. One of his greatest contributions to the status of the Negro was his choice of persons like Mary McLeod Bethune William H. Hastie, Ted Poston, Robert C. Weaver and Frank Horne. For both his sake and that of the Negro and Americans generally, it is hoped that President Truman will follow the example of his predecessor.

There is another possibile White House error of omission or commission. Two of the outstanding jobs of meditation in the modern world are those of Ralph Bunche in Palestine and General Lucius Clay in Berlin. Perhaps because he is a General, the White House staged a well-deserved official welcome for General Clay immediately on his return to the United States.

President Truman sent a warm letter of commendation of Dr. Ralph Bunche to be read at a testimonial dinner in New York City.

I would not for a moment take away one iota of the acclaim given General Clay. Especially should he be commended for his liberalization of attitude and expansion of opportunity for Negro troops in the American Zone of Occupation in Germany.

Ralph Bunche and his small staff had few facilities and no weapons whatever. It was only by the narrowest of margins that he escaped assassination along with Count Folk Bernadotte. He had to contend with age-old rivalries between Jew and Arab as well as the sinister machinations of international politics and oil interests. With infinite patience, skill and wisdom he had to battle almost single-handed against insuperable odds. But he waged that battle—and emerged victor.

It is because of this that there are some of us who wonder why Dr. Bunche was not invited to the White House to receive official recognition for an accomplishment many informed persons believe to be at lease as important to the peace of the world as the lifting of the Berlin blockade.



WALTER White

That Great Romance and The Race Question

THE frothing at the mouth of the American press over the current world tour of Rita Hayworth with Prince Aly, son of the fabulously wealthy Aga Khan of India, would be funny as a barometer of Anglo-Saxon morals if the spectacle did not have a more sinister background and motivation. Let it be granted freely that Miss Hayworth's popularity as a moving picture actress and the enormous wealth of Prince Aly make the two of them natural and inevitable sources of news. Let it also be readily conceded that circumstances have provided ample opportunity to the Hollywood star and her travelling companion "to do what comes naturally" although there has been not one scintilla of evidence produced thus far to indicate that their relationship has not been totally platonic.

But a London paper carelessly let out of the bag the one fact which is at the bottom of the frenzy being whipped up against Miss Hayworth by certain segments of thte American white press when the British paper denounced her for travelling without benefit of clergy with a "colored" man. The same Madam Grundys, of all sexes, who have obtained a vicarious thrill out of Miss Hayworth's obvious physical charms when they were displayed on the screen in romances identical (except as to skin color) with the real life one she is now living, are screaming to high heaven against her now.

Let's see how much Prince Aly's being dark-skinned is responsible for the current denunciation. One of the most successful and famous actresses in Hollywood whose foreign accent is widely mimicked has travelled for many years all over the world with a doctor to whom she is not married. But he happens to be white. Their peregrinations therefore have been merely the subject of friendly and infrequent allusions in gossip columns.

Another Hollywood star pops up in New York, London, Paris or Buenos Aires from Hollywood several times a year, each time with a different gentleman to whom she is sometimes married but more often not. Neither she nor her current companion make any especial effort to conceal the fact that they are together. As a matter of fact they make a point of dining at such places as the Stork Club where celebrities go to get their names into the press. But because she almost invariably chooses a white travelling companion, little is said about her activities. Nor is there any concerted demand that she be driven from the screen.

Anyone even reasonably familiar with the peccadilloes of some of the actors and actresses of Hollywood can cite innumerable other instances of almost countless marriages, even more innumerable affairs outside of matrimony, sexual adventures of both normal and abnormal variety, convictions for smoking marihuana which have gained for their perpetrators little more than ephemeral newspaper notoriety. It is the succession of such stories which makes all the more noticeable the quanity and quality of the abuse now being deluged on Miss Hayworth.

Perhaps another clue is to be found in the quotation of Miss Hayworth in Simone de Beauvoir's L'Amerique au Jour le Jour, recently published in Paris. Mme. de Beauvoir tells how frequently she heard American racists ask, "Would you want your daughter or sister to marry a nigger?" When Rita Hayworth was asked this question, Mme. de Beauvoir reports, the actress snorted, "But you wouldn't try to stop your daughter from marrying according to her own tastes, would you?" It is not impossible that this kind of honesty and frankness may be in part responsible for the Roman holiday some of the American press is having at Miss Hayworth's expense.



How can liberals explain to their constituents and consciences that they have taken the Southern bigots off the spot of responsibility for possible defeat or emasculation of housing and education bills?

South are accepting and putting into practice?

How can liberals vote against anti-segregation and anti-discrimination amendments in the face of a long series of decisions by the United States Supreme Court against segregation and racial discrimination, which the enlightened elements in the

WHERE ARE the promises Republican platforms of 1948?

Where are the exalted principles embarrassing and pertinent questions of the liberals who are in office because these minorities helped to put them there. Among them are such painful queries as these:

Why didn't the liberals themselves get together and introduce an anti-segregation amendment which, unlike the Cain-Bricker proposal, would be free of suspicion as to ulterior motive?

White

eral aid, are asking some highly

y P. Cain, of Wash- so ringingly incorporated in the posed those amend platforms of the Democratic and housing bill for no Republican platforms of 1948?

than to insure de

e meas[illegible] against it. There is last year's campaign of equal opan almost solidshouted from the hustings during st doubt that such portunity for all irrespective of pective of Messrs. race, creed, color or national gin. origin?

AL million Ameri- **How can liberals vote against** doomed to less or **anti-segregation and anti-dis-** r housing and edu- **crimination amendments in the** ich they must pay **face of a long series of decisions** very same vote as **by the United States Supreme** ceiving. The **Court against segregation and** nefits of such Fed- **racial discrimination, which the** **enlightened elements in the**

be offered to other measures such as health, defense and similar bills. The liberals screamed in anguish, charging that those darlings of the well-heeled and potent real estate lobby, Senators John W. Bricker, of Ohio, and Harry P. Cain, of Washington, had proposed amendments to the housing bill for no other purpose than to insure defeat of the measure against it. There is an almost solidshouted from the hustings during Southern vote against it. There is last year's campaign of equal opportunity for all irrespective of not the slightest doubt that such was the objective of Messrs. Bricker and Cain.

* * *

BUT SEVERAL million Americans who are doomed to less or grossly inferior housing and education, for which they must pay taxes at the very same rate as those who will benefit from unrestricted benefits of such Federal aid to housing and education bills and

Liberals Placed on Tough Spot

IT'S THEIR FAULT

By WALTER WHITE

Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

WASHINGTON—The toughest spot in the 81st Congress is the one uncomfortably occupied today by the liberal Senators on both sides of the aisle.

Riding triumphantly into office on the ground swell of civil rights they galloped up the hill only to be turned back by a piece of political skulduggery so obvious even a neophyte Congressman could not fail to see.

Amendments to prohibit racial or religious segregation or discrimination were offered to the Federal aid to housing and education bills and undoubtedly will

WHITE ENJOYS THE CRITICISM

Thanks to Everybody-But Pegler

BY WALTER WHITE
Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

WASHINGTON—Honestly, I am really not that good. I have received a few honors in my life but nothing quite equal to the distinction which has just been accorded me. Some of my friends in great jubilation have gone so far as to assure me that I have "really arrived."

Within a period of one short week, I have been vigorously assailed by Westbrook Pegler, John O'Donnell, The Daily Worker and the Ku Klux Klan.

I trust therefore that the readers of this column will bear with me for a few days as I walk around with extended chest, wearing a hat that is somewhat tighter than it was a few days ago.

John O'Donnell of the New York Daily News places me in company with which I am proud to associate—Philip Murray of the CIO, William Green of the AFL and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

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THE FOUR OF US are labelled as "outstanding suckers" for believing in and working for civil rights. "Now if people like Walter White and CIO's Murray and AFL's Bill Green were simply dumb and natural-born patsys, you could feel sorry for them.


White

"Walter White, for example, a gentleman with blue eyes and with less pigment in his hide than this reporter, knows his way around the Washington political scene. (Thanks, John.)

"But the distinguished White gets suddenly and violently angry because he discovers that all this Truman campaign hooey about civil rights was in fact so much eyewash. . . ."

I want to quote from Mr. Pegler's dyspeptic tribute in the New Jork Journal American and other Hearst papers. He charges that, "being of 'white' complexion and having Caucasian features," I am a "professional imposter" who has had "fun plying the Pullmans and other verboten precincts in the South at no peril whatever because everybody thought he was a white man."

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THE EX-SPORTS writer who made his bow as a columnist by a passionate defense of the lynchers of two white men at San Jose, Calif., in 1933, also brackets me in company I am proud to keep—Mrs. Helen Rogers Reid of the New York Herald Tribune and Lewis Gannett, charging that my recently published autobiography, "A Man Called White" (advt.) was reviewed more favorably than a couple of books bitterly attacking the late President Roosevelt.

The Daily Worker adds its mete of inverse praise by assailing me as a "mis-leader of the Negro people" playing an "Uncle Tom role to the Rockefellers and the duPonts" because I have, upon occasion, said with considerable vigor that I do not believe that the millenium of freedom and democracy has as yet arrived in Soviet Russia.

Finally, the Ku Klux Klan does me the honor of saying that I am one of the "most dangerous characters in America" because I believe that Messrs. John E. Rankin of Mississippi, Herman Talmadge of Georgia and Allen Ellender of Louisiana do not represent the ultimate in culture, mental or moral superiority, sportsmanship or democracy.

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THERE IS ONLY ONE of the gibes which got under my skin—Pegler's labelling me as a "tedious writer." That I don't like.

Apparently I have been dwelling in a fool's paradise because some of America's distinguished literary critics have written and spoken not unkindly about my writing ability.

If I didn't fear being charged with using this column to sell my own books, I would name some of the critics and quote a paragraph or two.

I am not going to do that. I wouldn't say that Westbrook Pegler is a tedious writer although I have heard rumors to that effect. I really wouldn't know. I don't read him.

WHITE CRITICIZES SENATOR

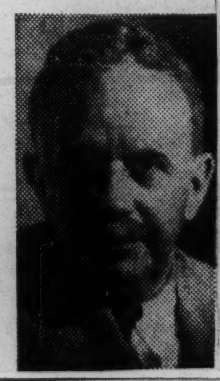
Vandenberg's Role in Filibuster

BY WALTER WHITE
Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

WASHINGTON—Perhaps the senior Senator from Michigan would be both shocked and angered by receipt of an invitation from the Ku Klux Klan. But the Klan is quite aware that its existence would be short-lived if the present inadequate Federal civil rights statutes are strengthened.

Up to the time Senator Vandenberg took the Senate floor on March 11 to make an impassioned plea to his fellow senators to over-ride the anticipated ruling by Vice President Alben Barkley, that debate could be limited on motions to take up a bill as well as on the bill itself, informed persons in the Senate predicted Barkley's ruling would be upheld by a margin of at least two votes.

Senator Vandenberg begged the Senate to repudiate the only possible means under the Senate rules to shut off the filibuster and secure a vote on the proposal he professed to favor—namely, amendment of Senate Rule 22 to provide that procedural motions as well as pending legislation be subject to cloture by a vote of two-thirds of the Senate. So concerned was he in persuading the Senate to side with him in opposition to Vice President Barkley, that the Michigan Senator brushed aside an appeal that he realize the indefensible position in which the United States was being placed by the filibuster.



IT WAS POINTED OUT to Senator Vandenberg that, since his ruling of Aug. 2, 1948, the United States had joined with 47 other nations in signing an international declaration of human rights.

He was urged to consider that a filibuster to prevent even a vote on civil rights in the United States provides enemies of America ammunition with which they could charge the United States with hypocrisy.

Senator Vandenberg and other senators, including especially the present chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Tom Connally, of Texas, one of the filibusterers, knew the ECA and our whole international program would be gravely jeopardized by continuation of the filibuster.

They and some other senators favor the fallacy that more speeches by senators enlighten the people, basing their arguments not on quality but on quantity of words. Senator Vandenberg's speech gave these senators the odor of sanctity and the aura of respectability in voting against the Barkley ruling. They thus voted to make the democratic processes and legislative process a test of physical endurance instead of one of

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COMPETENT PERSONS estimate that Senator Vandenberg's speech on March 11 resulted in the switching of between five and eight votes, chiefly Republicans. In all fairness to the Michigan Senator, none of those who switched their votes really wanted to vote to uphold Vice President Barkley's ruling.

Some of the conservative Republicans are fearful that a good legislative record by the 81st Congress may insure Democratic victories for several years to come. They enjoy seeing the bitter fight between northern and southern Democrats and want to see the brawl continue.

UN EXECUTIVE LEADS THE WAY

Bunche, the Yank, Has the Reds Sore

BY WALTER WHITE

Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

THE TRIUMPHAL return of Dr. Ralph J. Bunche has unique significance.

The voluminous news dispatches and radio commentaries out of the Middle East have uniformly chronicled Dr. Bunche's almost incredible ability, patience and capacity for hard work as the architect of the most successful job of mediation to date by the UN.

As the peace negotiations, which began in an atmosphere of total pessimism developed under his skilled guidance into one of hope and success, the circumstance of Dr. Bunche being a Negro was almost totally forgotten.



White

It is a tribute to him and to enlightened public opinion that he made people forget his race and think of him only as an able and distinguished American.

But there is a possibility that Dr. Bunche's achievements as a Negro as well as an American may prove to be the most effective answer to the current Soviet propaganda in Asia and Africa against the United States based on racial and religious prejudice in America.

There was considerable opposition among certain elements in the State Department against Dr. Bunche's appointment to the Office of Strategic Services during the war.

His job there was to supply the Joint Chiefs of Staff with information and analyses of colonial areas, particularly in Africa and the Far East.

Certain colonial powers were none too happy about the appointment either, fearing Dr. Bunche's encyclopedic knowledge of colonial exploitation, his indefatigable industry and his courage.

* * *

SO TOO there was some unhappiness over his promotion later to Director of the UN Trusteeship Division.

There were attempts to sabotage his work or to discredit Dr. Bunche by jealous officials. All this he blandly ignored.

When Dr. Bunche was appointed as assistant to Count Bernadotte as Palestine mediator, few persons believed there was the slightest chance of success.

But the appointment of a Negro to so strategic a post has not gone unnoticed in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

FOR THE FIRST time many of the peoples of these important areas were given opportunity to learn that the American attitude towards the Negro is not invariably that expressed by lynching, filibusters and discrimination.

Among the racist myths about the Negro which Dr. Bunche has helped to discredit is the one regarding the Negro's capacity for work. I have seen him in action in Washington, San Francisco, Paris and Lake Success.

Eighteen to 20-hour work days are the rule instead of the exception with him, which leaves many of his staff in a state of almost perpetual physical exhaustion.

When some of his associates, even including the patient Bernadotte, were inclined to give up hope in the face of the bitter and intransigent attacks of extreme Zionists and fanatical Arabs, Dr. Bunche never gave up hope of eventual success.

BECAUSE OF that courage, proof has been given to the world that an international organization based upon peace instead of war can function.

Dr. Bunche has given us the solution of one of the two most difficult diplomatic problems in the world today.

Is it possible that our United States will strike the shackles of segregation and discrimination from the other Ralph Bunches and permit them to contribute their share towards the creation of a truer democracy?

WHAT CAN YOU DO?

Minneapolis Fights Race Prejudice

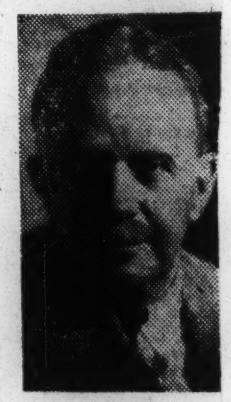
BY WALTER WHITE

Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

WASHINGTON — The most frequently asked question I have encountered in public meetings dealing with the question of human rights and racial relations is, "What can I do?"

Here are some practices which have worked in Minneapolis, Minn., which might be equally successful in other cities.

A group of women, concerned about the unwritten but painfully effective law dealing with employment of members of racial minorities in Minneapolis department stores, designed and printed attractive stickers reading, "I should like to see racial and religious equality in your entire employment practices." A quiet campaign was conducted in churches, women's clubs, parent-teachers' associations and other civic groups. As a result, eight thousand women pasted one of the stickers on each bill when it was paid.



White

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THIS CONVINCING demonstration that their customers not only did not object to the employment of qualified members of minorities, but vigorously advocated such policies, had immediate effect upon department stores, public utilities, and other employers.

As a result, many of the stores and business establishments today employ Negroes, Jews, Catholics and others for the first time. It is interesting to note that charge customers ranging from the moderately prosperous to the quite wealthy participated in this campaign.

During and immediately after the war, a Minneapolis hospital, hard pressed for nurses, employed some well-trained Japanese-Americans. Some of the patients immediately and indignantly protested.

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EACH OBJECTOR was told quietly that a card would be posted on the door saying that the patient within "wished to be served only by Caucasians."

Then the patient was told that "the shortage of nurses being what it was, he or she might have to wait some time before a Caucasian" nurse could get around to serving him. The protests of the objectors died aborning.

The son of one of the women most active in this campaign was shortly thereafter drafted by the Army. Imbued with his parents' ideals against discrimination and segregation, he proposed to his commanding officer that whites who objected to serving in Army units with Negroes be segregated, while those who wanted to practice democracy without racial discrimination be allowed to serve in so-called mixed units.

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THE FOLLOWING DAY he was curtly told that thereafter he stood no chance of advance in the Army because of his "unorthodox views."

Despite the punishment meted out to him, his idea seems to be spreading.

It may be that even in the United States Army, particularly in the light of the recent unequivocal statement by Secretary of Defense Louis A. Johnson regarding segregation and discrimination, the young soldier and those who think like him may succeed in speeding up correction of discriminatory practices, as has been the case of his parents in Minneapolis.

Negro Leader Says Chemical May Spell End Of Color Line

NEW YORK, Aug. 16—(AP)—Walter White, white-skinned Negro leader, said today the color line may be ended by a chemical which sometimes turns skin from black to white.

White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, made the prediction in an article in Look magazine.

THE CHEMICAL NOW is dangerous to use, but White wrote "It's almost a certainty that a safe form . . . will be on sale within two to ten years."

Negroes then could have white or light skin if they wished, he said, and "the racial, social, economic and political consequences would be tremendous."

White, 56 years old and estimated to be only 1-64th Negro, was married to a white woman on July 6 and they now are on a round-the-world trip. His bride is the former Poppy Cannon, 42, food editor of Mademoiselle magazine.

A NEW YORK SKIN specialist told The Associated Press that "nobody can turn white from using the drug at present," and attempts to change the color of Negro skin have not succeeded.

White said the chemical was discovered when some Negro and Mexican workers in a tannery shortly before the war found that their hands and arms were turning white.

The writer said the whitening was traced to the chemical monobenzyl either of hydroquinone, which had been used to treat their rubber gloves. The article said that white co-workers wearing the gloves reported that their arms would not tan from the sun.

White said scientists found the chemical removes a skin pigment, melanin, which Negroes have in much more abundance than white people. Melanin is a factor in the sun-tanning of white skin.

The chemical as now known, White said, may cause pain, anemia, convulsions or even death. He said its effect on the skin is only temporary, changing the color for six months to a year.

White Sees Inauguration 'Miracle

BY WALTER WHITE
Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

WASHINGTON—Although only a few commentators mentioned it, a miracle occurred in Washington on Jan. 20 almost as incredible as the spectacular re-election of President Truman. The miracle was that of total abolition of racial segregation.

The man from the Southern state of Missouri ordered done what had never been done before in American history. Negroes were invited to every event from the Inauguaration itself to the reception at the National Art Gallery given by the President and Mrs. Truman, the Truman-Barkley dinner, the gala on Inauguration Eve at which Dorothy Maynor and Lena Horne starred, the Shoreham Hotel cocktail party to the members of the Democratic National Committee, and innumerable lesser but more intimate events.

At the inaugural ball the best dressed and most well-mannered guests, according to Bob Considine, were Negroes, while a distinguished American woman told me that the most beautiful and smartly-gowned woman she had ever seen was a colored guest at the ball.



White

Probably nine out of ten white Americans would have been convinced on Jan. 19 that "it couldn't happen here." Dire predictions would have been uttered of fist fights, angry words, or even race riots if the previous custom of a Jim Crow ball in a dingy and remote section of Washington were abandoned. Equally ominous fears of clashes would probably have been voiced about Negro guests at Washington's hotels. Or of conspicuously empty seats at the Inaugural itself, similar to the much photographed and publicized empty table of Gov. Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina at last year's Jackson Day Dinner in Washington in protest against the Truman civil rights program.

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WHAT HAPPENED? Precisely nothing except that this year's inauguration was better behaved than any in recent history. Americans rose, as they have a habit of rising to emergency, to the challenge of ordinary human decency.

In one of the choicer stands in the capitol plaza directly in front of the spot where President Truman of Missouri and Vice President Barkley of Kentucky were sworn in, approximately one in ten of the guests were dark-skinned.

When a Negro couple in their eagerness to see what was going on stepped in front of three white women with marked Southern accents, there was no complaint by the latter, only a gracious acknowledgment of the apology of the colored couple when they recognized their discourtesy.

I have mentioned that this was the best behaved inaugural of many quadrennia. Perhaps that pleasant circumstance was due in part to the staying away from Washington of an element which has formed a sizable proportion of the crowd at previous inaugurations of Democratic administrations.

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THESE WERE THE "wool hat boys" who utilized the occasion to consume vast quantities of liquor, to rid their lungs of the rebel yell in the nation's capitol in defiance of damyankees, who found expression of their frustrations by using electric buzzers on unsuspecting and attractive women.

Unable to stomach the sight of the inauguration of the man they had attempted so desperately to defeat because of his insistence that Americans of every creed and color were entitled to equal protection and opportunity, this boisterous element remained at home to the great delight of a million visitors and two million residents of Washington who are not amused by bad manners.

As a result a new President re-entered the White House in an atmosphere of dignity and friendliness, unique in Democratic administrations. The only evidence of a new atmosphere of human relations to be observed was the stony silence or the boos of spectators, many of them with conspicuously Southern accents, as the automobiles of Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and of Gov. Herman Talmadge of Georgia passed by.

TROUBLE IN BIRMINGHAM

Housing Laws Stirring Violence

BY WALTER WHITE
Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

WASHINGTON—While Congress dallies with housing legislation—after having slaughtered bills against mob violence—a situation of tragic potentiality develops in Birmingham, Ala.

There is a pattern of violence, which may spread to other parts of the South and even of the North, is being woven as a result of the determination of some white individuals and groups, including public officials, to prevent the escape of Negroes from the black ghetto.

It is significant that one of the chief persons responsible for the potential explosion is "Bull" Connor, police commissioner of Birmingham. This is the same "Bull" Connor who took the lead in preventing the showing of the Freedom Train in Birmingham unless there was complete racial segregation of those who wanted to see the Bill of Rights and the Declaration of Independence. It was the same Connor who led the walkout of the Dixiecrats at the Democratic national convention in Philadelphia last year in protest against the Truman civil rights program.



White

The Negro population of Birmingham, like other Southern cities, has materially increased during recent years as the inevitable result of mechanization of cotton raising and the increased demand for labor in the rapidly industrializing South. Such housing as has been constructed has gone mainly to white Southerners.

AS THE growing Negro population inevitably sought houses wherever possible, it was proposed by the Birmingham City Commissioners to create a so-called buffer zone which would be a kind of "no-man's land" between white and Negro citizens. The ordinance, ironically enough, proposed that property which was 90 per cent Negro owned be re-zoned into "white residence area only" and into a "commercial (buffer strip) area."

Most of the area under discussion, according to an excellently-written advertisement, "A Plea for Fair Play," placed in Birmingham newspapers by Negro church and civic groups, has remained vacant for more than 25 years except for a few scattered homes.

The Negro "has been relegated to such properties as are not desirable," says the plea for justice, "inasmuch as they are tremendous health hazards, adjacent to railroad tracks, in swamps, near creeks and stockyards."

* * *

WITHIN RECENT weeks at least three Negro homes have been destroyed by dynamite. One of them belonged to a highly respected and beloved bishop of the Methodist Church.

When they received no protection from City officials Negroes employed white private detectives to investigate and do what they could to stop the bombing. The two detectives were promptly threatened with arrest by City police if they even did so much as to "advise their clients."

When the situation became so serious that almost anything could happen, Mayor Cooper Green, recently elected chairman of the American Council of Mayors, left Birmingham on a vacation after uttering a plea for "calmness."

* * *

MEANWHILE, Negroes eager to find healthier places in which to raise their families are helpless before the inaction of elected officials and the threat of the mob.

Federal officials are stymied in attempting to help because the recent Senate filibuster blocked legislation to give the Federal Government authority to act when State authorities refuse, fail or neglect to protect the constitutional rights of citizens. And the tools of the real estate lobby in Congress continue to bottle up legislation to provide more housing.

It is not a pretty picture. Nor will it help America's prestige abroad if official cowardice and impotence permits the lid to be blown off in Birmingham or any other American city.

WHITE COMMENTS

Bunche Case: Blot on U.S.

BY WALTER WHITE
Secretary National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

WASHINGTON—It is regrettable that the news and radio accounts of the three reasons for Dr. Ralph J. Bunche's refusal of the post of Assistant Secretary of State predominantly emphasized the financial one.

Dr. Bunche tells me that this was the least important of the three and that he had mentioned it only casually to the newspaper men.

Far more decisive were the strong convictions of the man who brought peace to Palestine that he could be of greater usefulness to his fellow man in his post as chief of the Trusteeship Division of the United Nations, and his unwillingness to condemn his family to Washington jim crow.

When will the United States wake up to a realization of the damage it does to itself by permitting a minority of racial

bigots to expose America to the scorn of the rest of the world? In the Middle East and in other parts of the world, Dr. Bunche is revered as a worker of miracles. Imagine the opinions now being expressed in the Middle East by men and women who believed Dr. Bunche would return in triumph to his native land only to learn that a Washington hotel has refused to permit a distinguished American organization to hold a dinner under its roof because Dr. Bunche was the speaker. Imagine, if you will, the use to which this situation is being put by the enemies and critics of America.

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ON THE ISSUE of financial sacrifice acceptance of the State Department post would have entailed, Dr. Bunche's refusal emphasizes dramatically the disparity we as a nation practice in salaries paid public servants.

This illustrates why in this era of high prices men of character and vision are often unable to serve their country unless they possess independent means. As Assistant Secretary of State Dr. Bunche would have received $10,000 a year, subject to tax.

Let's compare that to the remuneration given to members of the Congress who have the power to vote their own salaries.

Let's take as an example what the United States Government pays to Congressman John E. Rankin of Mississippi. He received a salary of $12,500 a year, plus personal expenses of $2,500 which is tax exempt.

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HE IS ENTITLED to clerical hire of $9,500 as a Congressman and additional clerical hire as chairman of the House Veterans Committee.

He receives an allowance of $500 a year for stationery, $75 additional for air mail and special delivery stamps, is permitted to send telegrams on congressional business at Government expense and has a travel allowance of 20 cents a mile going to and returning from each regular session of Congress.

All this totals close to $30,000 a year—approximately three times that which a distinguished American like Dr. Ralph Bunche would have received as an Assistant Secretary of State.

There are several members of the Congress well worth whatever is paid them and more. But the comparison becomes an absurdity when one contrasts the value to society and civilization of Ralph Bunche and John E. Rankin.



White

Colored People See No Virtue In Skin-Changing Chemical

Business Leader of Columbus, Ohio, Broadcasts Criticism of NAACP Secretary Who Gloated Over Use His Race Will Make of Concoction Guaranteed To Give Dark People Good "White-washing" Job

COLUMBUS, OHIO—N. B. Allen, national president of the Frontiers Club of America, in a radio broadcast over station WBNS last Sunday afternoon took sharp issue with the article Walter White, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had published in Look magazine recently, "Has Science Conquered the Color Line?" is rated by most colored people who have read it as a disservice upon the part of White, now on leave of absence as NAACP secretary and enjoying his honeymoon in Europe.

Speaking in criticism of the article, Mr. Allen stated that there is nothing new about Negroes "enjoying" the possibility of solving the so-called race problem by making use of a chemical guaranteed to turn a dark person white. Said Mr. Allen:

"There is nothing new about this idea other than the implication that Negroes will largely welcome this type of escape from the injustices of discrimination. George S. Schuyler, noted Negro author and columnist, years ago wrote a book entitled, "Black No More," a satire on the fallacy of color as a determining factor in race contact in America. Mr. White should know that Negroes are made of stronger stuff than that. It has been to the credit of the Negro that he has faced discrimination with uncompromising determination to gain first-class status on his merit. Mr. White makes the statement that some 35,000 light Negroes disappear each year from the black world and move into the white world as white. What he fails to realize is that biologically most of these people are more white than many of those who are accepted as pureblooded Caucasians. When they do pass it is in the majority of instances for economic reasons. Their contacts are not always severed with their Negro relatives. Just to support the point that what cements folks together is contacts, sentiment, and social background more than race, there are thousands of white people in America who are passing for Negroes. There are chemicals which make white people tan and curl their hair and those which make Negroes lighter and straighten their hair; both races use them. Not with the intention of losing their identity, but to increase their individual attractiveness.

Mr. White stands alone in his inference when he states, and I quote, "Whatever the results, it is virtually certain that the discovery will bring a new era. No longer will skin color be a criterion of human ability and acceptance. Monobenzyl may do more for race relations than any other scientific discovery to date. And the color line, the shame of the twentieth century in America, may go forever, as slavery did in the nineteenth." The only person who seems to agree with him is actress Lena Horne, who knows as much about race relations as the average biologist of sociologist knows about professional singing and dancing.

"There could be no offsprings of black people made white because before birth babies would have to be bleached white to hide their identity. Is Mr. White losing perspective? Negroes throughout the nation seem to think so. Reports from over a dozen Negro leaders as published in the Afro American, including such outstanding personalities as Drs. Lester Granger Channing Tobias, Edith Alexander and editor of the leading Negro newspapers, show that all take issue with Mr. White. Here is what the Rev. R. O. Jackson of Orlando, Fla., president of the Orange County Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, calls the statement: "frivolous to the point of absurdity." Lester Granger, quote: "It would be a coward's escape." S. Vincent Owens of St. Paul, Minn. "Certainly, they would rather have a first-class citizenship as colored persons than to hope to be accepted in a white world by changing the color of the skin."

"The Negro is proud of his race, he is proud of his heritage. What he asks in America is equal opportunity to become a firstclass citizen—no more, no less. He has shown through his every consertered act that this is his goal.

"A prominent young Negro said to me last Sunday, "Mr. Allen, I wish you would answer through your broadcast Walter White's article. I think as most Negroes do; we have aspirations to be first-class citizens but we do not want to change our color or race in order to obtain it. I know that I have within me ability to accomplish great things in America and still be a Negro. The Negro is not a coward. He wants an escape from second-class citizenship with dignity self- respect, and honesty. Whitening of one's skin would not solve a racial problem. It would confuse it. The impact of the problem would come back with greater force. When there is a determination to discriminate because of race, means will be devised to do so, bleaching of the skin, straightening of the hair, plastic surgery, notwithstanding. I thank God that the American people are learning that there is but one way to cure this cancerous malady or race discrimination that is knawing at the vitals of their very security—And that is to recognize every person on the basis of his merit, regardless of his race, creed, or nationality."

Negro Leader Says

Chemical May Whiten Black Skin

New York, Aug. 15 (AP).—A chemical that sometimes turns skin from black to white may make it possible "to conquer the color line," says Walter White, Negro leader, in Look magazine published Tuesday.

The chemical, dangerous to use, was discovered shortly before the war, he writes. Some Negro and Mexican workers in a tannery found that their hands and arms were turning white.

This effect was traced to the chemical, monobenzyl ether of hydroquinone, with which their rubber gloves had been treated.

Scientists found the chemical removes a skin pigment, melanin. White said. Negroes have much more melanin than white people.

Melanin is involved in the suntanning of white skin.

White warns the chemical may poison people, causing pain, anemia, convulsions or even death. Its effect on the skin is temporary, changing the color for from six months to a year.

But White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, predicts further experiments will make the chemical safe to use.

"The racial, social, economic and political consequences would be tremendous," he adds.

(A New York skin specialist told the Associated Press "nobody can turn white from using the drug at present." Attempts to change the color of skin have not been successful, he said. Most of the workers who wore the rubber gloves had patchy whiteness on their hands and arms, not an even change in color.

(Also, he said, skin specialists are not yet agreed whether it is melanin, or some chemical from which it's made, or some change in melanin that is responsible for skin pigmentation.)

31a 1949

New York Negro Daily

Age Publisher Included in Ebony Feature

CHICAGO—The New York Age is featured in a November Ebony photo-story which states "Publisher Richard Bourne-Vanneck is only white publisher of a Negro newspaper and has invested $30,000 in paper and plant which he one day hopes to develop into New York's first Negro daily."

The article in Ebony is entitled "Publishers" and covers 13 outstanding Negro newspapers throughout the United States, out of a total of 150. In commenting on the growth of Negro newspapers generally, the article states:

"Today Negro newspapers probably constitute the biggest manufacturing and producing business carried on by Negroes and in many cities are the largest employers of Negro labor. Several publishers have payrolls exceeding $30,000 yearly and report incomes up to $50,000 a year."

The article also points out the enormous influence of the Negro press and says of the publishers:

"The Negro press is run by a group of men who count in the upper bracket of U.S. Negroes not only by virtue of their wealth but also their influence on public opinion."

The article, however, erroneously mentions another newspaper as the "oldest Negro paper in the country." The Age has that distinction, having been founded in 1880, four years before the Philadelphia Tribune.

31a 1949

William L. Patterson

Ottley Assailed On Racial Views

NEW YORK—William L. Patterson, New York lawyer who is prominent in the movement for civil rights, has taken issue with Roi Ottley's view on the race question as expressed in a series of articles published in the New York Daily Compass.

In a prepared statement answering Mr. Ottley's gradual theory, Mr. Patterson says that colored people "are faced with a crisis in race relations" in the United States. He speaks sarcastically of the "attempts to smear Paul Robeson" in the Un-American Activities Committee hearings.

Patterson speaks also of the recent Klan killings and floggings in the South and the murderous attacks on colored people in Florida and in other places. These he terms as evidence that there is a crisis in the United States in race relations.

The New York lawyer asserts:

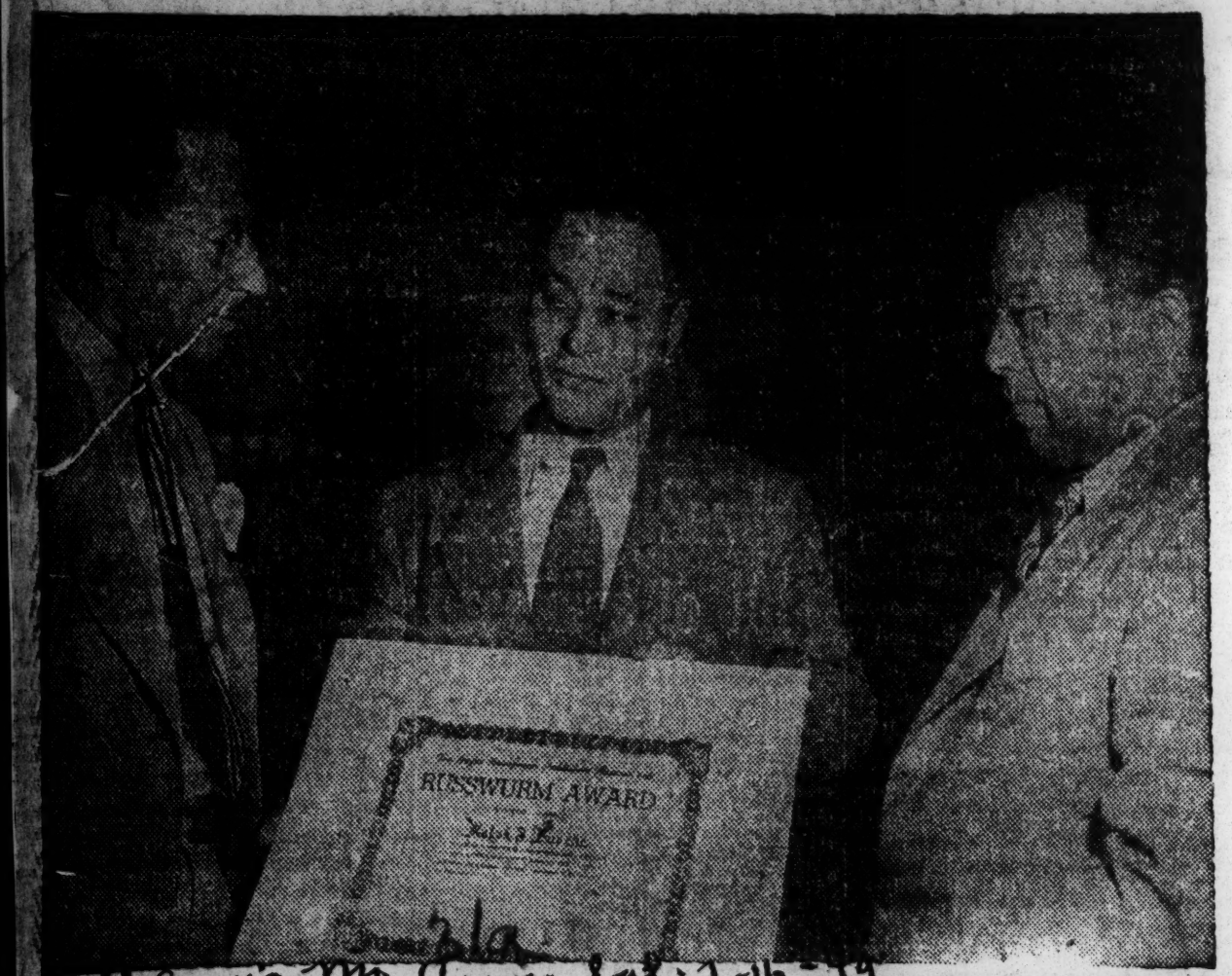
JIM CROWISM

"Nowhere has a Negro in his own country a right that white men are bound by 'law and order' to respect. The practice of jim crowism stemming from private enterprise has been crystalized by its henchmen into a policy of government."

Continuing, Mr. Patterson says: "From President Truman, who permits segregation in the Army, to the cop who brutally beats and murders a Negro in New York City streets — Jim Crow is an official policy of the executive arm of the government.

"From the judge who permits his courtroom to be used for frameups and legal lynchings, to the Supreme Court of the United States which refuses to rule fundamentally on restrictive covenants—Jim Crow is the policy of the judicial arm of the government," and completing his indictment of the government Patterson adds:

DR. BUNCHE RECEIVING RUSSWURM AWARD



St. Louis Mo. Argus July 1-16-49

DR. RALPH J. BUNCHE, center, acting UN mediator for Palestine and head of the trusteeship division of the United Nations, is shown as he receives the Russwurm award presented him by officials of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association. The presentation was made June 24 in Dr. Bunche's office at UN headquarters in Lake Success, N. Y., by Dowdal H. Davis, left, general manager of the KANSAS CITY CALL, and newly-elected president of the NNPA, and Frank L. Stanley, right, publisher of the LOUISVILLE DEFENDER and a former NNPA president. The award was to have been presented to Dr. Bunche at the annual convention of the publishers in Washington June 16-18, but when Dr. Bunche's plane arrived in Washington it was unable to land because of weather conditions, and he was forced to go to Raleigh, N. C. and miss the convention. The Russwurm awards, given annually by the NNPA to persons for outstanding achievement, are named for John B. Russwurm, the publisher of the first Negro newspaper in America. The plaque contained this text: "To Dr. Ralph Bunche, in recognition of outstanding achievement in making possible a richer conception of democratic principles and in tribute for upholding these highest traditions considered as ideals of American life."

WHAT THE PEOPLE THINK

About Schuyler's 'Witch Hunt?'

Editor:

writing you concerning Schuyler's tireless "witch Schuyler a right a conservative? Is he a and a savior, or per- is none of these? Then inspired urge does . . . and, for what dull, does he speak?

stated that we Negroes) should American Negro against Communism." may I ask?

not a Communist, but just cause to weep of communism. And by token, I do not fear reaction.

can this "red death" do supremacy

Schuyler is too far re- to actually observe the and deformed minds and of our people: a symptom tern culture.

lieve with him who said, who are oppressed have need to be conservative." welcome this "red cauldron" its crucible effect, for when pts, neither it nor opposing shall emerge as they are. We must hope for the mediums between these systems.

RAY McLEMORE
Louis, Mo.

ress Forgets chant Marines

Editor:

ing the war everyone about the Merchant Ma- and the wonderful job they doing for the war effort. quite a bit was heard of ically unarmed ships being with vital cargoes aboard. ceased to be news, but men still needed. It was a very mon thing to hear radio spot, per, and a direct mail for men to sail the that deliver the goods.

When the war was over, they brought the boys home. Some of ex-seamen had good jobs aboard ship that could save sufficient funds enter college for a year or most. Others weren't able high school, which they left at sixteen to man the They didn't have a G to help them. They didn't much, just kept hoping for better world to live in.

Most of the fellows found nice when they got home. They their father's cars and tried to save a little money for the day when inflation would leave us so, they could buy a car, build a house, or get married. Just about every State in this great Union voted to give the veterans a bonus, and make inflation that much worse. These ex-seamen that didn't get the bonus didn't say much again, just kept paying.

Today they have a new twist. It seems that the Eightieth Congress forgot them again when they passed the Draft Act. They didn't say one thing about the heroic men that sailed the ships that brought the supplies.

DON J. VERBURG
Grand Rapids, Mich.

Says Sprigle Was Right About South

To the Editor:

I have been reading The Pittsburgh Courier since childhood.

When I read Mr Schuyler's articles on "What's Good About The South?" I felt then that I was through with The Courier. It just seemed as though Herman Talmadge or Bilbo dictated every word he wrote.

I lived in and out of the South for twenty years. Everything Ray Sprigle said about the South was true, only ten times worse. A Negro's life isn't even safe in most of the South, as was shown in the recent murder of Mr. Mallard.

I also happened to be in Daytona Beach, Fla., in 1935, when a World War veteran, Lee Snell was lynched, and nothing was done about it.

Did Mr. Schuyler find out about transportation in the South, where Negroes are herded to the back of buses and trolleys?

Does Schuyler know that a Negro can go downtown shopping in any Southern city and no matter how hungry or tired he is, he cannot buy a soft drink or a sandwich?

Of course, there are some Negroes who get along as long as they "stay in their place."

MRS. RUTH BROWN
Philadel a, Pa.

Tired of Letters Condemning Schuyler

To the Editor:

I am tired of reading so many letters condemning George Schuyler for his series called "What's Wrong With the South?"

Your readers who write in so shrilly do not seem to have really read the series. They do not apparently understand the difference between a statement and a question.

They seem to think he said there was nothing wrong with the South. Why don't they ever voice a criticism of the folks he interviewed who told the story of their experiences and reactions?

Why not condemn those interviewed if they like it enough to remain? It is not hard to get out of the South. You don't need a passport or a Government fee—as in Russia — and even then, try and get out of there!

All any dark Southerner has to do is take a bus, or just walk. Yet eleven million Negroes find enough good down there to remain and suffer with their electric refrigerators, cultivators, automobiles, radios, individual homes and the rest of their miserable surroundings.

A. CONSUELOS
New York City.

Needed: A New Deal for Women

To the Editor:

I wonder some time what is good about men? We hear lots of talk about how Negroes are discriminated against. And I agree that Negroes should have first-class citizenship.

But after they get it, what about the women? Will men continue to keep them from reaching their rightful place in society?

Men should know that the only way to live peacefully is for everybody to have the same privileges and equality, whether they are men or women. Therefore men should give women their rights.

Some women are partially to blame for their sex being kept down because they stand up for men and boys and help them out in preference to the females. These women do nothing for other women and girls. Some of them have started boys' clubs to keep down juvenile delinquency. But have they started girls' clubs? No.

These women are not helping the girls who will be the women of tomorrow.

ROY LEE RICKS
Newport News, Va.

White (Hodding Carter)

Mr. Carter's Program

To the Editor: (3/a) White

Hodding Carter recently made a speech in [illegible] talk, and after an interview, Mr. Carter expressed support for excellent progressive measures such as federal aid to education, a broader health program, a national housing program, a long-range soil conservation and diversified agriculture program as measures to aid the South.

When it came to civil rights and the Negroes, Mr. Carter suddenly became an evolutionist, and put forth the time-worn theory of these questions solving themselves in some distant future by some mysterious process called "... let the South handle its own problems...." In the meantime Mr. Carter proposes equal but separate facilities for Negro and white.

The impracticality of such proposals is known to all serious people and grave doubts regarding Mr. Carter's sincerity are raised. The South needs federal aid in education to bring the educational level up to normal. Does Mr. Carter propose that this money be divided between white and Negro schools so that neither becomes standard?

Mr. Carter also predicted 3,000,000 to 6,000,000 Southern Negroes will be displaced from agriculture by mechanization. Where are these Negroes to go but into the labor market, where their "segregated" wages will create a cheap white labor, which will not benefit the South, but only northern-owned corporations? Only an FEPC and a national minimum wage law of $1 an hour can the Southern white worker be protected.

The Progressive Party of Alabama points out that segregation is wasteful, harmful and insincere. It is a "false-scent" dream across the trail to divide the people from uniting against their true enemies—the barons and their home-grown agents who siphon out the wealth of the South leaving it poor and barren.

Only by uniting at the polls can white and Negro elect representatives who will take steps to solve the economic problem which is the root of all the Southern problems.

BIRMINGHAM CLUB OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY, JOANNE TYLEE, 1101 South 28th Street, Birmingham, Ala.

-: Gossip of the Nation :-

Engineer Inq. 12-31-49

31a Fwbl

Leonard Lyons

NEW YORK, Dec. 30.

RALPH BUNCHE, Mark Ethridge and Paul Porter told the Academy of Political Science about their work with the Palestine Conciliation Commission. Dr. Bunche said he could offer no standard technique of mediation, except that he learned that sometimes poisoning helps. For during the hectic sessions in Rhodes everyone — except the Israeli delegate who only ate Kosher food flown in from Tel Aviv—suffered from food-poisoning. Two days required for recuperation served as a cooling-off period . . . From then on Bunche, too, ate only Kosher food, and the Arabs interpreted this not as a measure of protection against food-poisoning but only as a premonition of the commission's decision.



DR. RALPH BUNCHE

When Leon Hart, Notre Dame's All-American end, came to New York to receive the Heisman Trophy, Father Hesburgh accompanied him. The priest discussed Notre Dame's two-platoon system, and then told of having been asked by a fan: "What's the name of the regular chaplain who accompanies the football team on its trips?" . . . "Do you mean," replied Father Hesburgh, "the offensive chaplain or the defensive chaplain?"

Philadelphia Bulletin

WILLIAM GOETZ, owner of the controversial Van Gogh painting, has made an agreement with Reeves Lewenthal, who obtained the painting for him, that Goetz may return it at any time within the next three years, and receive repayment in full. Both have faith in its authenticity, and Goetz plans to send the painting to Europe for study by Van Gogh experts from whom he expects to receive certification that it is genuine . . . The financial angle doesn't disturb Mr. Goetz. On Monday he made more than the painting cost him—for his horse, Your Host, for which he paid $20,000 and was offered $100,000, won the $50,000 race at Santa Anita.

On Dec. 23 Elaine Scott met Celeste Holm on Fifth ave. and gave the star her Christmas gift. It was a wrapped umbrella. They started to walk and the rain began, but they walked through the rain unprotected, for the umbrella had a stamp, "Do Not Open Till Xmas," and Miss Holm insisted: "I never open my Christmas gifts before Christmas" . . . Miss Holm, incidentally, who in Hollywood recently played the roles of a singer, a neurotic, an editor and a nun, again showed the wide range of her talent by her successful return to Broadway in "She Stoops to Conquer." "How nice it is," she said, during rehearsal, "to find actors talking to each other instead of just to the director."

* * *

ALFRED G. VANDERBILT, publisher of the Young America Magazine, took Cord Meyer, Jr., to a morning preview of "Human Beginnings," the film for 6-year-old children which explains to them how babies are born . . . They left the preview at 10 A.M., and found the streets crowded. "Where do all these people come from?" Meyer asked . . . "If you don't know by now," said Vanderbilt, "then the movie is a flop."

Eddie Albert, who produced "Human Beginnings," has a featured role in "Miss Liberty" and conducts a daily radio program. He lunched at Toots Shor's yesterday with Paul Small, the agent, and said he has so much work to do that Western Union wakes him every morning. "Don't you have an alarm clock?" the agent asked . . . "I use an alarm clock, too," Albert said, "but to make sure I get up, I have Western Union wake me" . . . "That costs 30 cents a day, $9 a month," said the enterprising agent. "I have an actor who'll wake you for that."

* * *

JULES EPSTEIN, co-author of the new Sam Goldwyn movie, "My Foolish Heart," was in Sardi's with a director who had met Konstantin Simonov, the Russian author, during his visit to New York. "Simonov is writing a series of plays which are popular in Russia," the director said . . . "Russia is not a place for a playwright," said Epstein. "What happens when the propaganda-line switches?" . . . "Then he just writes another play, following the new line," said the director . . . "Russia's bad for a playwright's work," Epstein repeated. "No revivals."

Hiram Bloomingdale, the playwright and department store merchant, has been a patient at Doctors' Hospital since March. His room is on the 10th floor, where the maternity wing is housed . . . The nurses keep a record of the length of Mr. Bloomingdale's stay. And because he had entered on March 25th, the nurses placed under the Christmas tree in the maternity wing, their Dec. 25 gift for Mr. Bloomingdale—twin dolls.

The recent obituaries on Bill Robinson, the dancer, included photos of his dance down Broadway in celebration of his 61st birthday 10 years ago. He danced from 61st st. to the Broadhurst Theater where he was appearing in "The Hot Mikado." As a matter of fact, Robinson did the street dance twice that day. His press agent, Bill Doll, had sent a note to news cameramen giving the estimated time he would pass certain points en route. But Robinson covered the distance so quickly the photographers missed him. They went to his dressing room at the theater, and complained . . . "Just get me my hat," was Robinson's answer, "and I'll do it again for you."

* * *

SID STONE, the pitchman on the Milton Berle program, was introduced in Lindy's to Tony Canzoneri. "We've met before, Tony," said Stone. "A few years ago, when I was in a night club with George Jessel" . . . "If you were in a night club with Jessel," said Canzoneri, "you must have been a pretty, 17-year-old girl at the time."

Next Sunday Gladys Swarthout will appear on a CBS telecast of "Carmen." Robert Merrill will play the toreador role. They once sang "Carmen" together in Hartford, when the toreador was ill and Miss Swarthout recommended the then unknown Merrill as a replacement. There was no time for rehearsal. Miss Swarthout helped him with his make-up . . . "All I have are these brown shoes," Merrill suddenly lamented. They solved the problem by sending for polish and each blackened a shoe.



RALPH McGILL

31a

'Ours and Our Children's Forever!'

A little more than 50 years ago the late Henry Grady made a talk about cotton. He spoke of the fiber and what it meant to the South. In his typical, eloquent style, he said of the cotton plant:

"What a royal plant it is!

"The world waits in attendance on its growth.

"The shower that falls whispering on its leaves is heard around the earth.

"The sun that shines on it is tempered by the prayers of all people.

"The frost that chills it and the dew that descends from the stars is noted, and the trespass of a little worm on its green leaf is more to England than the advance of the Russian army on her Asian outposts.

"It is gold from the instant it puts forth its tiny shoot. Its fiber is current in every bank, and when loosing its fleece to the sun, it floats a banner that glorifies the fields of millions of humble farmers who are marshaled under a flag that will compel the allegiance of the world, and wring tribute from every nation on earth.

"It is the heritage that God gave to this people forever as their own when He arched our skies, established our mountains, girt us about with the ocean, loosed the breezes, tempered the sunshine, and measured the rain!

"Ours and our children's forever

"As princely a talent as ever came from His hand to mortal stewardship!"

Henry Grady was one of the better prophets of his time. But every prophet of each generation is limited by his horizons and by man's knowledge. He could see no sign, in his time, that cotton would not be a Southern monopoly, "ours and our children's forever."

Cotton For a good many years now the prophets have seen cotton retreat westward. Cotton grows now almost around the world. China, many of the so-called Soviet "republics," India, South America, Mexico, Egypt, and many other nations and regions, are increasing production. Russia is believed near self-sufficiency in the fiber, although admittedly one may not trust their figures. But we do know that, of necessity, Russia is putting tremendous money, energy and manpower into research and into production problems of agriculture. And we know the Communist conquerors will seek to make China the cotton patch for Asia.

The lesson of all this should be plain.

Change Change is as much a part of our lives as the air we breathe. In the days of slavery most cotton growers foolishly believed their system would endure. When war came they sought to build a new nation with slavery as its keystone, when everywhere that civilization's lamp had grown brighter, there was an increasing conviction no human being should be a chattel . . . that man must not be property.

When the war was done, the radical Congress held the reins. Lincoln was dead and with him the easy re-entry of the States into the Union. The Congress acted with such ruthless, cruel stupidity that wounds were made which are yet unhealed. Their infection poisons the body of the nation today.

Problem The South, with its economy ruined, and its social system upset, its credit and currency gone, was left with almost all the newly-freed slaves to educate, hire and feed. That a bad job was done, and is still inadequately done for all children, regardless of color, was not surprising. It was inevitable.

The radical Congress created laws, rules, tariffs and rates to make of the South a colonial possession, a hewer of wood and a drawer of water for the nation. Sharecropping and farm tenancy were not deliberately conceived. They were sired by necessity and their dam was cotton.

That such a system was in time bound to be smashed possibly could have been seen. That the patient mules and the black hands picking the cotton would in time give way to machines was not an impossible vision. Yet, nothing suggested it. The world clamored for Southern cotton and New England mills began to move to be close to the raw material—and, quite incidentally, of course, to the great supply of hungry, eager labor in a region desperate for industrial jobs—as it still is, to a lesser, but yet intense, degree.

Cotton was a monopoly.

But monopolies, like the keystones of States, have a way of being broken.

Credit Today we are face to face with another problem. Farming is business and it requires capital. The change from row crops to grass which will tie down the Piedmont soils is rapid. But every day farmers are being squeezed out and are moving to town.

There are signs that stupid policies of the period which ended in 1929 are being reacted. Farm credit for purchase and, especially for machinery, is high and hard. Farmers are complaining a man must pay as high as 12 percent today to get money for a tractor or a haybaler.

Three years are required to build a pasture.

Not many average farmers can change to grass and not have an income for three years.

I don't see any lessening of farm bloc pressure.

It seems to me the credit facilities will make it more radical and—by forcing more and more untrained persons into the cities—will make the "security" demands from the cities become more and more heavy.

"I'd like to see something enable more people stay on the land. But it isn't in sight—neither from the Government nor private credit.

And that, I believe, is an error we will live to regret.



RALPH McGILL

3-1a (white)

A Project On Brains

This is an essay on education.

It is addressed, first of all, to the civic clubs which may be looking for a project.

It is important to any community, county and State.

I've got one.

The project is this: Write letters to every high school principal in the home county and those two or three which are its neighbors.

Ask this question: "What happened to the top 25 percent of the graduates in last Spring's senior class?"

Be sure the superintendents and principals understand you are asking about only those who stood at the top scholastically—in the top 25 percent.

Contribution

Results It is my confident prediction the results, with some few exceptions, will be shocking.

It will be discovered that somewhere around 30 to perhaps 40 percent of the seniors who stood highest in their class didn't go to college. Some couldn't afford it. That is why most of them didn't get there. A few didn't want to go.

If the civic club wishes to have a complete picture they can obtain from the State Department of Education the percentage of all high school graduates who go to college.

That will be somewhere around 17 percent of the total.

We know that already.

Mon. 12-12-49

Problem Now, what's wrong? Well, in the first place, it costs too much for many boys and girls to go to college. There isn't much we can do about that yet, except every civic club could, it seems to me, try to arrange for local funds to assist the really able ones—those in that top 25 percent—get to college.

There is another method which will take time.

That is to encourage the development of what is called "Community Colleges."

Contribution 12a

They are, in a sense, the junior colleges. They ought not to be a part of any university system because they are not universities. They should not try to be four-year colleges.

Why?

There are two good reasons.

Reasons One is that most of the boys and girls who manage to get to college drop out after one or two years. Well over 50 percent of all who enter do this.

A second reason is that if we develop enough community, two-year colleges, they can be integrated with the high school system. The States doing a successful job with this idea separate the last two years of high school and combine them with the two junior college years. It means upgraded teachers, but more and more teachers are obtaining their master's degrees and will be qualified.

Thirdly, so many boys and girls don't want more than this amount of advanced schooling. They want enough to qualify for a better job. So, in these community colleges we can teach some vocational skills. A man or a woman who hasn't had academic work to balance his vocational work isn't well balanced.

Snob One trouble is we have given to education a sort of snob appeal. There has grown up a feeling that an education creates a sort of "superiority," a caste. That's nonsense. Real education teaches humility. There isn't the slightest reason why a man with college work shouldn't farm, run a filling station, be a mecnanic, or work in a manufacturing plant at a machine too. There is every reason why this is a good idea. He can do a better job, if his education hasn't gone to his or her head.

Thirdly, such a setup will enable more communities to keep their best boys and girls at home.

Almost any college or university president will say quite frankly that at the four-year colleges at least 35 percent of those entering have no business there. They are not seeking anything. They have come because going to college is "the thing to do." Or, they want to join a fraternity. Or they want to do dances or get into "society."

Need There is a crying need for good, independent community colleges, of no more than two years' college grades, which receive State and local support and do a community job. By "community" of course we mean an area of several counties. Not every community can, or ought to, have one. They should be carefully centered in population areas where need is and to which areas those in sparsely settled regions have easy access.

It is a project worth local study everywhere.

What's happening to the best young brains in your community? What about the boy or girl who was high up in classes and in 4-H and FFA or home demonstration work?

Here is a real project.



RALPH McGILL

3-1a

Politics Knows No Seasons

Senate Majority Leader Lucas has announced during the glad Yule season (politics knows no season) he will call up a Fair Employment Practices Bill during the first 30 days of Congress.

It will, of course, touch off a filibuster.

This the proponents of the bill will welcome. They feel they may still have a chance at the bill, but even if they fail, they will help themselves politically with perhaps some specific damage to Sen. Taft, who will be up for election in Ohio, 1950.

There are several reasons why the FEPC bill will be first introduced.

One is that while it is regarded by the South as an anti-South bill it has strong support from labor and all minority groups in all 48 States. Many members of Congress who might oppose breaking a filibuster on a lynching or poll tax bill would vote with an FEPC bill because of local conditions. Persons of several races and faiths are behind the FEPC.

Contribution

South There is so much anger about the FEPC controversy that it is hardly possible to obtain clear thinking about it.

Wed. 12-21-49

Nevertheless, for the record and for the consideration of those who are interested, the facts may as well be faced that the hand of the civil rights advocates has greatly been strengthened by events in the South.

Contribution 12a

The latest of these was Georgia's contribution at Rome, which has already been welcomed by those interested in the measures usually found under the "rights" heading.

At Rome a jury, hopelessly deadlocked at a reported seven to five for conviction of men charged with taking Negroes from the unresisting custody of the sheriff and flogging them was discharged. (Incidentally, the Moscow radio reported it as a sample of U. S. "justice.")

Law Whatever the merits of the failure to reach a jury decision, the fact remains that once more men have been flogged after having been taken from the custody of the law—an important point—and the law has failed to punish the guilty.

Within recent months both Texas and Virginia have failed to repeal the poll tax, although admittedly in Virginia the proposal to abolish it was hedged about with registration restrictions which were worse than the poll tax itself.

The South has claimed—in Washington and at home—that it would take care of these things if left to themselves with no "outside" interference.

It is well known that a score is being kept by the rights committee in Congress and that in the past several years the South has not taken care of the flagrant cases of lynching or flogging involving so-called rights, and has twice voted to retain the poll tax. That makes the committee politically happy.

Argument When the measures appear and the filibuster begins, these arguments will be used, and among them will be the statistics seeking to refute the South's argument that, if left alone, it will "take care" of these matters.

In fact, the senators and congressmen most interested in pushing these measures frankly and openly state they hope the South will continue to act as it does in either freeing or being unable to convict floggers and lynchers because it is exactly this policy which has enabled the Democratic Party strength to be increased until the West is almost as solid as the once-solid South.

That is an unhealthy situation wholly aside from the legislation at issue.

FEPC Having always vigorously opposed the FEPC measures introduced containing coercive or compelling police measures, especially when applicable to a region historically jobshort, we still oppose, without reservation, any such coercive legislation.

It is interesting that the St. Louis Post Dispatch, in an interview with the Negro political leader there, Jordan Chambers, called the black "Mayor" of St. Louis, reports him as saying:

"I don't think it does any good just to put a law on the books. . . . I think it highly questionable whether you can or should tell a man whom to hire. It's a highly technical business and I'm inclined to think it is an infringement of man's rights under our Constitution. You don't need laws to do things" . . . and he indicated integration of the Negro into the Army as illustration of his point.

Possible Certainly an FEPC with coercive police powers would not work and we do not believe there will be such a measure. Indeed, I think the country may expect only an FEPC which will allow investigation, hearings, conciliation and recommendations, such as the Labor Department's Conciliation Service now possesses. There could be no real objection to that.

I do not believe there will ever be a bill saying a man must hire a person any more than we could have a law saying one might not hire a certain person.

I write this only to ask that Southerners think about it and take note that to date we have failed miserably on the promise "to take care of these things if left alone." In so doing we have strengthened the hand of our enemies, done our own selves moral harm, and have made it more difficult for our friends to assist us.

That is not good. We are, by such a course, in effect assisting the most radical course in Washington.



RALPH McGILL

Mr. Hagen Makes A Lot of Sense

Rep. Elliott Hagen, member of the Georgia Legislature from Sylvania, is, and always has been, violently opposed to the civil rights legislation proposed in Congress.

In a recent speech before a civic club he properly and correctly linked the Dixiecrat States Righters and the Henry Wallace Progressive Party together as enemies of the American system of government and of the two-party system, which is the backbone of our form of representative government. There isn't the slightest doubt about the correctness of his position.

Any person, not bought or blind to facts, can see what happens to countries which have allowed their political system to break up into many parties. France and Italy are the best examples of what the many-party system will do. There are others, but these two best illustrate the sickness and death of real government when afflicted with many "parties."

Leadership? Rep. Elliott also was critical of Gov. Strom Thurmond, the Dixiecrat flag-bearer, and of former Sen. James F. Byrnes, also of the Palmetto State. Even those who agree with Mr. Byrnes are puzzled by his sudden change of heart. It seems odd that in 12 years of close participation with the Roosevelt administration he would not have seen, suspected or discovered what now seems to disturb him, the loss of personal liberties and of "rights." Mr. Byrnes has not, of course, joined the Dixiecrats, and we hope he will not. His opposition can be healthy and valuable outside that splinter party group.

The South accepted the "leadership" from South Carolina in 1860, and has not recovered from it to this day. It was a "leadership" crying havoc and alarm in almost the identical words of the Dixiecrats of today. Almost all the Southern States reluctantly accepted South Carolina's 1860-61 diagnosis of the national problem. Georgia and Tennessee, for example, voted to follow South Carolina by small majorities. Georgia's opposition to South Carolina's 1860-61 position was led by her beloved Alexander Stephens—"Little Alec"—later Vice President of the Confederate States, who predicted with great and dreadful accuracy the fruit of South Carolina's course.

Parties Rep. Hagen says that however distasteful some matters are, the place to fight it out is within the two parties—and not in those twin enemies of the American political system of government, the Wallace and the Dixiecrat parties. He is right beyond any argument.

Let us look again at the South Carolina type of leadership of 1860-61. That course split the party in the election of 1860.

What was the result?

Lincoln was elected with a vote total far less than that of the combined number cast for the split party candidates.

That was one result.

Error The Dixiecrat leadership of 1860 then began the clamor to withdraw from the Union.

Suppose the Southern States had not pulled out?

Let us assume that, after having destroyed their own party and handing the election to Lincoln as a gift, they had accepted his election?

What would have been the result?

One thing we know. The Democrats would have been able to control Congress.

A second fact is almost as definite.

Lincoln publicly had said he had no intention of immediately abolishing slavery.

We can be sure that had the Southern States remained in the Union and gone back to fight it out in Congress, slavery finally would have been ended by legal means and with Federal payment to the States. There would have been no great destructive war and subsequent hostile and restrictive legislation.

Today It is as true today. New Zealand, which has had a Socialist type Labor government for many years, has voted it out.

The people could do that because the opposition, while defeated many times, had not broken itself up into splinter parties.

Great Britain and Australia have managed to retain the two major party systems. Both, though defeated in the past, are healthy and have a chance at victory in their next elections.

Examples Look at France and Italy, where the Communist Party is not in power only because—so far—a shaky and unsure coalition of the several splinter parties has managed to hold together—but which coalition is always in danger—from day to day.

The South Carolina type of political leadership in 1860-61 attracted many fine persons. The Dixiecrats of today have also drawn into their ranks many sincere, honest persons. The leadership of 1860 was folly. That of today is worse, since much of it is largely hypocritical and piously false. It may again carry a few States. But there is no escaping the diagnosis put upon it by Georgia's anti-national administration Hagen—it is, with the Wallace Party, dangerous to the two-party system.

If the Dixiecrats don't want to fight within their party and provide opposition there, let them drop their masks and go over to the Republican Party which is a respectable opposition.

The South will do well—when the Dixiecrat leadership is advanced from South Carolina—to remember that of 1860-61, and to say, "This is folly as it was then."

Let Rep. Hagen keep on talking. He makes sense and he speaks in the best interests of his State and country.



RALPH McGILL (White)

3:1a

Chapter Two On Segregation

This is Chapter Two of a discussion. It requires a brief introduction:

On yesterday I tried to express an opinion. It was that the Supreme Court of the United States had announced on Nov. 7 it would render a decision on segregation in education. Despite that fact, none of the Southern papers had discussed it. This I believe unfair, if typical of a natural, human desire not to talk about what is unpleasant.

But it is so enormously important to the South, because of our population facts, that we will do ourselves a great disservice if we do not discuss it and think about it and recognize we are moving toward what might be a decision which would be of tremendous impact on us. Atlanta, Ga. Constitution

For more than 160 years the Federal Government has been aiding public education. There are more than 150 congressional bills providing such grants-in-aid. Some of the samples are: land for land-grant colleges, school lunch programs, funds to pay for veterans' education and so on.

Yet none of the 150 bills has been a direct or continuing aid from the Federal Government to the States.

The whole theory of Government aid has been, and is, even in the direct aid bills before Congress, that local control should apply to education within the States. All the Supreme Court decisions of the past which have impinged upon this problem have sustained the theory of local control.

Mon. 11-14-49

Problem There is a very good chance, of course, the Supreme Court may again rule that the States may have separate school systems, but there is no chance at all it will allow discriminations to continue.

In the first chapter I expressed this opinion, too. It was that this is a chicken which may come home to roost. We established our own laws which say, specifically, that we are to have separate, but equal, school facilities. We have not done it. We have allowed to exist the grossest sort of inequalities in buildings, equipment, services and salaries. Not only that, but when a suit is filed to require the State to carry out its own laws, made without any Federal interference or Negro participation, we make plans to fight it. This means we actually are defending substandards and our own admitted violation of our own laws. In other words, we are saying to the Supreme Court that not only do we discriminate but we intend to keep on doing so and will defend our right to discriminate with our courts. This will not stand up in court. Our case—the South's case—before the courts would be stronger if we could say we are trying to equalize facilities and salaries.

What I am trying to do is, not to argue pro or con, the right or wrong, but to create some understanding of what we are up against.

Therefore, it must be said that the argument which says the Negroes pay too few taxes, in some counties about one percent of the tax total, is quite true, but not applicable. When we—not the Federal Government—wrote our laws saying we would have separate but equal schols, we didn't put it on a basis of tax payments. We couldn't do it anyhow. Many people with no children at all nevertheless pay school taxes. So the truthful statement that many Negroes, especially those in rural counties, pay little or no taxes is not germane, however truthful.

Our own laws, self made, say separate but equal.

We are in trouble only because we have discriminated, and still discriminate. Assuredly the Supreme Court will take into consideration that Georgia is preparing to defend the very bad inequalities involved in the Irwin County suit.

Meaning If the Court rules against segregation in education it would cause an immediate flurry of violent talk, or worse. But the law would remain.

Insofar as the grammar grades are concerned, there would not be much trouble. With, of course, some exceptions. There is little mixing of the races in schools in the East. There the districts are so arranged as to population that most schools are dominantly white or colored. The problem in high schools would be more acute, but there the South would work out its problem by having one or two schools on a nonsegregated basis and districting others.

It is quite possible, too, that in many areas agreement could be reached to retain the segregated systems. Should the court rule against the present system it would disrupt the Negro system and cost many Negro teachers their jobs. So in many areas calm heads on both sides undoubtedly would work out an agreement which would have no legal standing, but which would have validity as long as both parties kept the agreements.

The colleges would really give little trouble, for at least a good many years. Most college student bodies have indicated, by straw votes, they would not be in opposition to receiving Negro students on the graduate level. There would be violent exceptions, of course, but it could be worked out.

It will be a Godsend to both races if the ruling is delayed for a while.

Again, let me say, I am not arguing. I am personally hopeful the decision will be delayed. But what I am trying to do, as earnestly as I can, is to urge the citizens and the leaders in all communities to understand the Court is going to rule. It may rule for the system, minus its inequalities. But it may, because of our discriminations, rule against us.

If it does we do not want it to be greeted with violence and empty anger, but with intelligence and with planning. We owe that much to our State.

I know it is not pleasant to discuss unpleasant facts. But we can't be always Scarlett O'Hara, saying, "I'll think about that tomorrow."



RALPH McGILL (white)

3:1a

The Chickens Are Coming To Roost

When I read it I thought to myself I would just sit this one out for a while and read what the big domes and the little domes had to say about it.

Then I could say, "as Big Dome so ably put it in his article of yesterday. Atlanta, Ga. Constitution

But as far as I can determine not a word has been said by anyone. Even the ranters and the fire-and-smoke eaters have been unusually quiet. Oddly, I find this deplorable, as in this instance I would much prefer they were out there going through their act. Because the disturbing fact seems to be that once again here in the South we seem to be dreaming away the hours and when the decision comes, if it is what it may be, there will be thousands of well-intentioned persons who will say, "Why didn't I know about this before?" Sun. 11-13-49

It was on most of the front pages of the newspapers. The date was Nov. 8. And the heads read like this: "High Court Test of Segregation in Education Set."

Apparently the South is following the formula of Miss Scarlett O'Hara, which was, "I'll think about that tomorrow."

That is not wisdom. So let's discuss it. It is a Southern problem, because of the facts of population and law.

Meaning In the past the Supreme Court has ruled that education is a matter for the States. There is no Federal law, per se, pertaining to education which gives regulatory powers to the Federal Government.

Federal assistance to education began, however, when the country was still a confederation of States, before we had a Constitution and union. A section of every township (comparable to our county system of today) was set aside for public education. Later land was given for land-grant colleges. For a considerable time the Federal Government has provided aid for various types of education in the land-grant colleges. Since the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act in 1917, there have been Federal grants-in-aid for vocational education in the secondary, or high schools, of the nation. In a period of more than an 160 years Congress has passed more than 150 laws providing for aid to education in the various States. Latest of these were, of course, the school lunch program and Federal appropriations for the schooling of veterans. All the States have received millions in Federal funds for these purposes. Always the Federal Government has required, in granting these aids, that certain conditions be met.

But there exists no direct and continuing Federal assistance for all types of training in the primary and secondary schools. There is such a bill before the Congress. It was this bill which stirred so much discussion in the recent session, involving the question of aid to parochial, or religious schools, and the constitutional provision of separation of church and state.

There has been an insistence on local control of education. The various bills before the Congress, including that by Sen. Robert Taft, of Ohio, all specify local control.

So there has been always in the minds of Congress, and in the past decisions of the Court itself, this theory of local control.

The State of Georgia has, I think, with great lack of wisdom, announced it will defend this situation. I think it always wrong to defend substandards. I would certainly have liked it better if the State and County had said, "Yes, the State laws have been violated. There are gross inequalities. We are starting right now to do something about it."

One of the factors the Supreme Court is going to consider, on the basis of the Fourteenth Amendment, is that the States which have such laws—separate but equal facilities—have continually and flagrantly violated their own laws and have, save in rare local instances, made no attempt to carry out the provisions of the laws.

The arguments against it are that Negroes pay little tax. This is true. But it is not a part of the argument. It is not even germane to it. What we did was to say that we would establish separate facilities for the races and would make them equal in pay and facilities. We did not say, anywhere in the law, setting up separate but dual systems, that they would be set up on the basis of taxes paid. We said, in effect, we wanted them separate and were willing to pay the bill. The chicken of failure to do that now is coming home to roost.

A lot of people don't like this said because it is the truth, and the truth hurts. But it is a fact. It is before the Supreme Court.

Segregation Acts Here in the South we set up, by our own States, laws which said that we would have separate for white and Negro, but would make them equal.

Would to God we had been honest enough to do so. It is failure to do so which has brought the Court to the pending decision.

Our attitudes have been dishonest and wrong. Nothing better illustrates it than the Georgia suit in Irwin County. The school systems are not equal there, but Irwin County has failed in this no more than dozens of others. In no county are there equal

I think there is a good chance the Court may sustain this right of the State to regulate its education. But it is by no means sure, and if the decision is against us it will be because, under the Fourteenth Amendment, we have practiced discrimination because of race and color. Had we done the right thing, as called for by our own laws, from the time we first set

facilities, although in the larger urban counties both facilities and salaries rapidly are being equalized.

up the separate systems, we would not now be vulnerable on the basis of discrimination. I believe it important every Southerner think about these things.

I am not attempting to argue pro or con about it. I am urging that Southerners think and discuss this problem. To that end I will do what I dislike doing, which is continue this in a second chapter tomorrow.



RALPH McGILL

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Problem There is a very good chance, of course, the Supreme Court may again rule that the States may have separate school systems, but there is no chance at all it will allow discriminations to continue.

In the first chapter I expressed this opinion, too. It was that this is a chicken which may come home to roost. We established our own laws which say, specifically, that we are to have separate, but equal, school facilities. We have not done it. We have allowed to exist the grossest sort of inequalities in buildings, equipment, services and salaries. Not only that, but when a suit is filed to require the State to carry out its own laws, made without any Federal interference or Negro participation, we make plans to fight it. This means we actually are defending substandards and our own admitted violation of our own laws. In other words, we are saying to the Supreme Court that not only do we discriminate but we intend to keep on doing so and will defend our right to discriminate with our courts. This will not stand up in court. Our case—the South's case—before the courts would be stronger if we could say we are trying to equalize facilities and salaries.

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We are in trouble only because we have discriminated, and still discriminate. Assuredly the Supreme Court will take into consideration that Georgia is preparing to defend the very bad inequalities involved in the Irwin County suit.

Meaning If the Court rules against segregation in education it would cause an immediate flurry of violent talk, or worse. But the law would remain.

Insofar as the grammar grades are concerned, there would not be much trouble. With, of course, some exceptions. There is little mixing of the races in schools in the East. There the districts are so arranged as to population that most schools are dominantly white or colored. The problem in high schools would be more acute, but there the South would work out its problem by having one or two schools on a nonsegregated basis and districting others.

It is quite possible, too, that in many areas agreement could be reached to retain the segregated systems. Should the court rule against the present system it would disrupt the Negro system and cost many Negro teachers their jobs. So in many areas calm heads on both sides undoubtedly would work out an agreement which would have no legal standing, but which would have validity as long as both parties kept the agreements.

The colleges would really give little trouble, for at least a good many years. Most college student bodies have indicated, by straw votes, they would not be in opposition to receiving Negro students on the graduate level. There would be violent exceptions, of course, but it could be worked out.

It will be a Godsend to the races if the ruling is delayed for a while.

Again, let me say, I am not arguing. I am personally hopeful the decision will be delayed. But what I am trying to do, as earnestly as I can, is to urge the citizens and the leaders in all communities to understand the Court is going to rule. It may rule for the system, minus its inequalities. But it may, because of our discriminations, rule against us.

If it does we do not want it to be greeted with violence and empty anger, but with intelligence and with planning. We owe that much to our State.

I know it is not pleasant to discuss unpleasant facts. But we can't be always Scarlett O'Hara, saying, "I'll think about that tomorrow."

Dixie whites plagued by "fear" — McGill

NEW ORLEANS — Although he will have to be forgiven a reversion to type in reciting the ancient maxim, "The Negro knows his place in society, and if let alone, he'll retire to himself," 51-year-old doughty Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, gave white people a blunt and fearless 'talking-to' last week when he addressed the Southern Regional Council on Race Relations.

Southern whites are "afraid of things that don't exist," McGill told his audience. "Look at the civil rights program. There has been so much distortion of these points that people have quit thinking of them as civil rights. They ask only if they are pro-Truman, or anti-Truman."

McGill called the federal anti-lynch law another evidence of southern white fear "of things that don't exist."

"The only people who have gotten excited about it are the politicians," he said. "Nobody else has said a word. The same thing is true of a poll tax law, which never was an anti-Negro mechanism as some folks would have you believe. More whites would be affected than Negroes if it were passed, so what's wrong with doing away with it as a pre-requisite to voting?

"Again it's the politicians, especially those in office who oppose it. They are afraid that if the electorate is widened, they might get the boot. They want the status quo retained as always . . ."

McGill sees no reason for "quibbling" about non-segregation in interstate travel either.

"The airlines have had no segregation since they started in business," he said. "And by now we are still getting used to seeing Negroes in Pullman cars. No reasonable person ought to assume that there will be trouble unless it comes from the folks in both races who are nothing but agitators."

Here McGill interjected his assurance that Negroes "knew," and would stay in, their place.

Only on FEPC has McGill any reservations. He favors it, he said, provided it has no coercive powers "to haul somebody into court if he doesn't toe the line.

"I'm against any type of legislation which is too free with police power. Give it to one agency, and they will all want it, and before you know it, you're living in a police state."

But McGill staunchly advocates an FEPC along the lines of a federal conciliation service, supervised by the labor department.

"Many people fail to realize," he said, "that we had just such an agency during the war. It worked out very well in most cases. This was especially true of Japanese on the West Coast, Mexicans in Texas and Oklahoma, and Jewish workers in certain sections of the country."

DEFINITE PROGRAM

McGill has a definite program for bettering race relations in the south. He says:

"Few communities have a true evaluation of their racial problems. Form a committee of city and parish officials from the health, police, welfare, and other departments and make a survey of the really pressing needs of Negroes . . .

"The next step is to establish a permanent committee to which the people—both white and Negro, can turn to express their grievances. This would be more or less a clearing house.

"If there is no such agency, the grievances stew around until someone comes along and makes them break out with violence."

McGill estimates the Negro vote "in the old Confederate states," will have reached two million by 1951 . . . An increase of more than 600 percent in Negro registration brings the present total to 800,000 over the 1940 figure."

Two years ago, McGill said he began to eliminate the word, Negro, from headlines and prominent places in news stories. His paper is also one of the few in the south which uses the prefix Mr., Miss, or Mrs. to the names of respectable Negroes.

"Many publishers have put off doing this," he said, "because they were afraid of how their white readers would react. And yet in Atlanta, you could hardly notice any reaction at all."

"South Has Neglected Negro Too Long" - McGill

BY JAME B. LaFOURCHE

NEW ORLEAN — (ANP)— "We have neglected the southern Negro too long," warned Ralph McGill, outspoken editor of the Atlanta Constitution, while addressing an audience at Temple Sinai here last week. Mr. McGill was the guest of the Southern Regional Council and the 51-year-old newspaperman unhesitatingly ploughed into his discussion to the delight of the Committee on Race Relations.

"We have a case of being afraid of things that don't exist. Look at the civil rights program President Truman proposed 10 specific points. There has been so much distortion of these points that people have quit thinking of them as civil rights. They ask only if they are pro-Truman or anti-Truman.

"The federal anti-lynch law is a good example. The only people who have gotten excoted about it are the politicians. Nobody else has said a word. The same thing is true of a poll tax law, which never was an anti-Negro mechanism as some folks would have you believe.

"More whites would be affected than Negroes if it were passed, so what's wrong with doing away with it as a pre-requisite to voting.

"Again, it's the politicans, especially those in office, who oppose it. They are afraid that if the electorate is widened, they might get the boot. They want the status quo retained, as they always do."

The speaker next turned his thoughts to interstate travel and saw no reason why there should be so much quibbling concerning it Said he:

"The airlines have had no segregation since they started in business and by now we are all getting used to seeing Negroes in Pullman cars. No reasonable person ought to assume there will be any trouble unless it comes from the folk in both races who are nothing but agitators.

"The Negro knows his place in society and if he is let alone, he'll retire to himself."

Relatives to FEPC, Mr. McGill let it be known that he was definitely in favor of it provided that the agency would not have coercive powers "to haul somebody into court if he didn't toe the line.

WITH POLICE POWER

I'm against any type of legislation which is too free handed with police power. Give the power to one agency and they'll all want the same thing, and before you know it, you're living in a police state. That's exactly what happened with Hitler in Germany."

The stockybult, rotund and square-jawed fourth estater further lent his approval to a FEPC act when he suggested that it be designed along the lines of the federal conciliation service and worked under the supervision of the labor department, concerning this phase he said:

"Many people fail to realize that he had just such an agency operation during the war. It worked out very well in most cases. This was especially true of the Japanese on the West Coast, the Mexicans in Texas and Oklahoma, and Jewish workers in certain sections of the country. It ought to be equally successful with the Negroes."

As to a sensible approach toward the solution of the race problem, the Georgian was of the opinion that not much progress can be expected if efforts are to be confined to a statewide or nationwide undertaking. He pointed out that the best method to pursue is that of establishing local communities to handle perplexing matters pertaining to racial friction. In paying a tribute to his sponsors, Mr. McGill said:

"The Southern Regional Council provides a sound and sane vehicle through which to work, and furthermore, it's not tinged with radicalism.

"Few communities have a true evaluation of their racial problems. Let's take it upon ourselves to learn them. Form a committee of city and parish officials from the health, police, welfare and other departments and make a survey of the really pressing needs of Negroes such as housing problems, juvenile delinquency and racial clashes.

"The next step is to establish a permanent committee to which the people—both white and Negro—can turn to express their grievances This would be more or less a clearing house.

"If there is no such agency, the grievances sit stewing around until someone comes along and makes them break out with violence."

Speculating concerning the potential "Negro vote by the year 1951, the interracial platform and news crusader prophesized that more than two million will be voting in the old Confederate states. He calculated that there had been an increase of more than 600 percent in Negro registration bringing the present total to 800,000 over the 1940 figure.

In order to accomplish the objectives outlined by him, the speaker said that southern white newspapers can do much to accelerate the achievement. He mentioned five papers that have such programs underway which have adopted the method of first winning the respect of the Negro population in their respective cities.

On his own paper the Constitution he began two years ago, he said to eliminate the word "Negro" from all headlines or prominent places in news stories. If a person was identified as a Negro, that identification came about in such a way that the reference was almost insignificant.

"Many publishers have put off doing this because they were afraid of how their white readers would react," Mr. McGill said, "and yet, in Atlanta, you could hardly notice any reaction at all."

Mr. McGill also stated that he was no reason why respectable Negroes should not be addressed as Mr., Misses and Mrs. His own paper does it he says and to date no resentment has come from the white reading public.



RALPH McGILL

The Chickens Are Coming To Roost

When I read it I thought to myself I would just sit this one out for a while and read what the big domes and the little domes had to say about it.

Then I could say, "as Big Dome so ably put it in his article of yesterday. . . ."

But as far as I can determine not a word has been said by anyone. Even the ranters and the fire-and-smoke eaters have been unusually quiet. Oddly, I find this deplorable, as in this instance I would much prefer they were out there going through their act. Because the disturbing fact seems to be that once again here in the South we seem to be dreaming away the hours and when the decision comes, if it is what it may be, there will be thousands of well-intentioned persons who will say, "Why didn't I know about this before?"

It was on most of the front pages of the newspapers. The date was Nov. 8. And the heads read like this: "High Court Test of Segregation in Education Set."

Apparently the South is following the formula of Miss Scarlett O'Hara, which was, "I'll think about that tomorrow."

That is not wisdom. So let's discuss it. It is a Southern problem, because of the facts of population and law.

Meaning In the past the Supreme Court has ruled that education is a matter for the States. There is no Federal law, per se, pertaining to education which gives regulatory powers to the Federal Government.

Federal assistance to education began, however, when the country was still a confederation of States, before we had a Constitution and union. A section of every township (comparable to our county system of today) was set aside for public education. Later land was given for land-grant colleges. For a considerable time the Federal Government has provided aid for various types of education in the land-grant colleges. Since the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act in 1917, there have been Federal grants-in-aid for vocational education in the secondary, or high schools, of the nation. In a period of more than 160 years Congress has passed more than 150 laws providing for aid to education in the various States. Latest of these were, of course, the school lunch program and Federal appropriations for the schooling of veterans. All the States have received millions in Federal funds for these purposes. Always the Federal Government has required, in granting these aids, that certain conditions be met.

But there exists no direct and continuing Federal assistance for all types of training in the primary and secondary schools. There is such a bill before the Congress. It was this bill which stirred so much discussion in the recent session, involving the question of aid to parochial, or religious schools, and the constitutional provision of separation of church and state.

There has been an insistence on local control of education. The various bills before the Congress, including that by Sen. Robert Taft, of Ohio, all specify local control.

So there has been always in the minds of Congress, and in the past decisions of the Court itself, this theory of local control.

Segregation Here in the South we set up, by our own States, laws which said that we would have separate systems for white and Negro, but would make them equal.

Would to God we had been honest enough to do so. It is failure to do so which has brought the Court to the pending decision.

Our attitudes have been dishonest and wrong. Nothing better illustrates it than the Georgia suit in Irwin County. The school systems are not equal there, but Irwin County has failed in this no more than dozens of others. In no county are there equal

facilities, although in the larger urban counties both facilities and salaries rapidly are being equalized.

The State of Georgia has, I think, with great lack of wisdom, announced it will defend this situation. I think it always wrong to defend substandards. I would certainly have liked it better if the State and County had said, "Yes, the State laws have been violated. There are gross inequalities. We are starting right now to do something about it."

One of the factors the Supreme Court is going to consider, on the basis of the Fourteenth Amendment, is that the States which have such laws—separate but equal facilities—have continually and flagrantly violated their own laws and have, save in rare local instances, made no attempt to carry out the provisions of the laws.

The arguments against it are that Negroes pay little tax. This is true. But it is not a part of the argument. It is not even germane to it. What we did was to say that we would establish separate schools for the races and would make them equal in pay and facilities. We did not say, anywhere in the law, setting up separate but dual systems, that they would be set up on the basis of taxes paid. We said, in effect, we wanted them separate and were willing to pay the bill. The chicken of failure to do that now is coming home to roost.

A lot of people don't like this said because it is the truth, and the truth hurts. But it is a fact. It is before the Supreme Court.

Acts I think there is a good chance the Court may sustain this right of the State to regulate its education. But it is by no means sure, and if the decision is against us it will be because, under the Fourteenth Amendment, we have practiced discrimination because of race and color. Had we done the right thing, as called for by our own laws, from the time we first set up the separate systems, we would not now be vulnerable on the basis of discrimination. I believe it important every Southerner think about these things.

I am not attempting to argue pro or con about it. I am urging that Southerners think and discuss this problem. To that end I will do what I dislike doing, which is continue this in a second chapter tomorrow.



RALPH McGILL

Miss Smith And Freud

Since I try to read about three books each week, and have a deal of trouble finding the time to do so, because at home I look forward to giving time to telling stories and answering questions asked by a small boy, I have to pick and choose. Therefore, most of my reading is nonfiction and much of that is selected deliberately with the idea of trying to learn something from it.

One of the books I put aside was Lillian Smith's nonfiction book which is, I suppose, a sort of sequel to her novel, "Strange Fruit." I know Miss Smith to be a sincere, honest person, but also to be a zealot, burning with a bright blue flame, a person whose own psychological agony cries from her words; whose long service as a missionary across the seas has not assuaged the invisible spurs which obviously rowel her; which also has not quenched the passion of her fervent witnessing for the Savior. So I was not going to read it, knowing what I would find.

But, finally, read it I did, and confirmed what I had expected—a book told so emotionally that it frequently becomes strident and spills over the edges; a book often eloquent and one involving deep human terms and feelings. But also a thesis as warped as the Freudian cast with which she covers it. And, although the Jung school of psychiatrists now regard Freud as passe, he still is heavy stuff to swing about. Christ, Freud and the psychiatrists of the Freudian school are in it; as are Gandhi and Schweitzer, the magnificent. In essence, it is an attempt to depict the problem of race in the South in terms of psychiatric fears, guilts and complexes. When a missionary begins to mix Freud and Christ, the result is not unexpectedly distorted.

Error It is not my purpose to tear down the book, although I think it grievously in error and most unfair, really, to the Negro himself. Miss Smith writes with a typical detachment of the zealot, ignoring that in Pakistan race and traditions produce blood and disaster and exploitation; that caste and discriminatory exploiting of tribes in India plague that unhappy nation; that there is no comparable psychiatric background in South Africa, yet a worse and more explosive situation; that in Palestine and the Arab nations religious and racial dissensions between the people grow out of the Moslem divisions of Sunni and Shia and out of deep, historical traditions and historical wounds and prejudices; that in Spain the Moor and the Spaniard have a gulf worsened by the civil war, and that everywhere there are degrees of the same problem which afflicts the South and holds it back.

With the zealot's zeal and astigmatisms, she focuses her psychiatric magnifying glass on the South and comes up with her conclusions, magnified. That the South does have a guilt complex is true. That it stems from anything save guilt, I doubt. I do not believe it necessary to call in that good Viennese, Freud, or even Jung, who seems to have made Freud outmoded, to explain the guilt.

Mammy The white man's burden, she says, is his childhood. Thereupon she develops the most erroneous and fantastic Freudian thesis—namely, that so many Southerners had a Negro "mammy," a beloved person, that all else having to do with the racial problem has been traumatic. That is a process of being wounded, in the readjustment of the childish love for "mammy," and the developing precepts which, she concludes, finally make the Negro a symbol for sin and sexual crimes.

This thesis is, of course, not true. She adopts, for this premise, the position that all Southern homes were white pillared mansions with devoted colored mammies dutifully tending each Southern child.

The truth is only an infinitesimal number of Southerners had "mammies" and of that number most of them are dead and gone.

Save for the islands of the plantation system at Natchez, Vicksburg and New Orleans there were precious few "mammies" in Mississippi. There are even fewer in Alabama where, 25 years before the War Between the States began, the Indian war whoop still echoed and the new cotton lands, overrun largely by new settlers from South Carolina, Georgia, Virginia and New England, boasted little more than log and plank houses. In Georgia there were a few legendary mammies in Augusta, Savannah and a few smaller towns, but the Indians were not long gone from the new cotton lands which were the whole Chattahoochee and Savannah River valleys. They boasted no white-pillared halls with crooning mammies dandling infants on their knees or holding them to their ample bosoms. In all of North Georgia, down through the old Cherokee lands, there was no horde of mammies giving complexes to white babies. West of the Mississippi there were few indeed.

Fears The processes she nurses so tenderly did not even come into being as fears possessing psychiatric powers until after the war's end. Her insistence that the economic factor was but a marginal role, because during the war the South had more money than ever before, but tolerance declined, is so emphatically disputed by an overwhelming mass of the evidence there is no argument about it. The successes of the wartime FEPC; the relatively few incidents of violence attendant on the presence of great numbers of soldiers in the South; the obvious progress of the Negro in every field, and many more undisputed facts, eloquently deny both her premise and this would-be clincher in her attempt to nullify the economic factor.

There is truth in the book, and honesty, but it is a woefully unsound book. Miss Smith is a prisoner in the monastery of her own mind. But rarely does she come out of its gates, and then, apparently, seeing only wicked things to send her back to her hair shirt and the pouring of ashes on her head and salt in her own psychiatric wounds. Perhaps her book is helpful. I do not know. I doubt it, really. For all its honesty, eloquence and for all the truth in it, it still is unsound and too crowded with her own Freudian interpretations and emotions to be of real value. Indeed, I think all persons who write about Freud ought to be more careful of what they reveal about themselves.

White (Ralph McGill)



RALPH McGILL

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga. 31a
Jue. 6-14-49

In the Middle--
Tried and Proved

Homer Chase—the Southern Communist leader, who is so revealing of the fact that he feels the world treated him badly, and to compensate for his own lack of courage, he is going to get even with the bad old world by bringing on Communism so that sweet old Uncle Joe Stalin will give us all an even break—has produced a pamphlet. This was after Homer put up bond to get out of jail, when he saw he was getting no publicity and receiving no martyr's crown. Well, as we said, after Homer got out, he produced a pamphlet.

It calls on all Americans to rally to the Communist Party. Free cake and free listening to the Paul Robeson records can be had.

It attacks me as a stooge of Wall Street and as an enemy of the Negro and of democracy.

In fact, this sheet, which was distributed largely to Negro districts in Atlanta and adjoining towns, says that Ralph McGill is engaged in a conspiracy to destroy the Communist party. . . . which party is, of course, the only party which will stop lynching and bring justice to the poor peoples of the earth, according to Homer.

Well, again I am complimented.

Homer has a thin skin, as do all the shallow intellectuals, who gather to eat cake and play the Paul Robeson records, and send minute reports of progress to Brother Dennis, the fat-sniveling little wife stealer who heads up the major Communist party in this country.

He doesn't know it. But I do. The top boys don't think much of Homer. I've seen their report on Homer and they say right out in writing they consider him a failure and a stooge to get rid of as soon as they can find someone. Homer, I think, is going away to California. Homer has failed.

This attack on me was one of three in the same week. I have been on the receiving end of these things before, but to get all of them in one week is magna cum laude.

Success One was from a fellow who, to judge from his words, is worried by a fear that he really isn't superior to anyone, including the colored people. At any rate he engages in a search for arguments to bolster himself. I never argue with the people who are trying to prove they are superior to the colored race. If they are afraid they are not they must have some reason known to themselves. At any rate, while Homer was charging me with being one of the persons in Georgia seeking to destroy the Communist party, this fearful little man who seems to be trying to prove himself superior to the colored folks in his community, charged me with being Communist-minded for demanding justice in courts for the Negro citizens. He reportedly suggested violence be done me. (I do wish he and Homer would get together. They both have so much in common—a lack of confidence in themselves.) And, in the same week, the Ku Klux attacked me as an enemy of their organization—which I am. I hate the Communists and the Klan as enemies of our country's system of law and of trial by jury.

The Constitution

Position All this made me feel good. It proved to me that I had achieved a position I want to achieve—the middle of the road as is dictated by a Calvinistic conscience, which rides me without saddle blankets. I couldn't be Communist if I tried, because they are so obviously hypocritical frauds, and enemies of this country. I couldn't be a Ku Klux because, however badly I might have strayed from my teachings, I wouldn't dare appear before the final judgment seat with a Ku Klux robe in my background. And God knows I could never be one of those persons who thinks lynchings and murders are all right—if it is just another Negro who is lynched or murdered.

Atlanta, Ga.

Anyhow, denounced by the Communists as a conspirator seeking to destroy them; castigated by the lynch-minded and the "supremacy" fellows who often, with good reason, are so very afraid they really are not as good as a Negro; and flayed by the Ku Klux Klan, I give humble thanks to my Maker I have managed to stay in the middle of the road, a little left of center. . . . which is where I try to stay.

Jue. 6-14-49

Stone Mountain There was another pamphlet. It was one advertising the Ku Klux Klan meeting at Stone Mountain.

"Come and see what the Klan stands for," it said.

Written across it was this line, "Dare you to be there."

Well, I won't be there. I know what the Klan stands for. It has just shown us by attacking a lone woman in Alabama. I have tried my best—and will continue—to persuade at least some Klansmen they don't belong in it. I don't like to see well-meaning people deprived of $10, which goes to buy steaks and pay rent and dress up girls. I continue to ask any, and all, Klansmen if there has even been a time when they needed the Klan or got anything from it save violent speeches.

I don't mean this to be a soul-scrubbing essay, but I do appeal to every person believing in the Christian teachings; to the good people in every town and city and rural neighborhood to try and imagine the Nazarene in a Ku Klux robe, going in a mob to terrify helpless persons.

Who? So, gentlemen, out there at Stone Mountain, we all know who you are and what your order stands for. You are frightened persons who have been told the Jews, who are 6,000,000 persons in 140,000,000, are taking over your country; you are fearful, uninformed persons who believe the Negro, who is about 13,000,000 in 140,000,000; that the Catholics, who are even fewer—are about to drive the Anglo Saxon out of America. You must know, if you will think about it, that's bunk. You've lost all faith in self—which is where the chief faith must be.

The Klan is anti-Christian, anti-American. It says it isn't. But it is. It prostitutes the cross by burning it to advertise its threat of violence.

We can keep America strong by maintaining her laws and her ideals—liberty and justice—and a fair trial for every citizen regardless of race or wages or social position. Any other method will destroy us.

So, under that hood—let your mind and your conscience be at work.

If you do you'll take it off—for good.



RALPH McGILL

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga. 31a
Jue. 1-25-49

I Am, and I Am Not!

Going over notes left for me while absent a little more than three weeks on vacation and at the Washington inaugural, I find it necessary to do a brief roundup.

One note informs me that in his speech to the jury in the Toombs County Mallard case, the defense attorney singled me out and said I had painted a dark picture of Georgia. He went on to say that I was not really interested in Georgia, since I soon was leaving to take a newspaper job in Washington at a large increase in salary. The reporters summed it up as an excoriation.

Well, I am and I am not. I am deeply interested in Georgia. And I am not taking a newspaper job in Washington.

Pattern The result of the Mallard case did not surprise me. It was entirely within the pattern. But use of two jurors as defense witnesses shocked the nation. It was all the more shocking to the nation's conscience since a juror once in the box is supposed to be there without prejudice.

I talked in Washington at the time of the inaugural with Senators and Congressmen, some of whom will lead the South's fight to bring about a compromise on the civil rights legislation. I did not bring up the subject of the jurors or the Toombs County case. They did.

"That hurts us," they said, "and hurts the South more than anything any 15 Northern Congressmen and Senators could have done. That painted the blackest picture of Georgia we've had in years."

For me, at least, it was proof of my contention all along—that our own failures in the field of equal justice do us more harm than our enemies in that we play into their hands.

South Also, on return, I read all the papers from over the country which had been saved for me. Criticism of Georgia came unanimously from Southern papers. Most of them took the theme—"Georgia has asked for civil rights legislation . . . Georgia has ruined our cause . . ." and so on.

Somehow we must all learn that, whether we like it or not, we are a part of the United States. We are Southerners, but also Americans. We are not isolated. What we do influences thinking and actions elsewhere. The distressed Southern Congressmen, with the ground cut from beneath their feet by their own people, join in wishing we could learn that simple but important lesson.

'Sin' We are eager for others to confess their sins. Just as nationally we wanted the Germans to confess and repent at war's end, so we want the "meddling Yankees" to admit their sins. We attend church and hear discussion of sin and we say that if sin could be eliminated from the world, all would be well. But, meanwhile, our own national sin of self-righteousness remains constant. Here in the South we cannot go on rationalizing our own sin—by damning those of the Goldwassers or others who come "meddling" into our midst. Maybe we, too, need the mercy of God.

Robert Ingersoll, the atheist, once took that phrase, "An honest man is the noblest work of God," and twisted it to read, "An honest God is the noblest work of man." That is a deeply cynical twist, but all about us we see men doing something like that.

Formula They make of their religion a comforting formula which suits their lives and their own beliefs. There-

'Agonized Conscience' We are a Christian nation. Our ideals, concepts and our written

fore, religion becomes for many a pleasant exercise of social worship once a week in which the familiar words of sin, repentance and forgiveness are comforting and warm. But, such a religion, as one writer has said, is certainly not the pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night, leading men on. Instead, he wrote, it is more like an ambulance coming along after the fight to pick up the wounded and consign the dead to the grave.

We see men say of churches or ministers which interest themselves in the deep, forbidding social problems of life that they are "leftist" or "red."

Well, one of these days, I guess, the Lord is going to set this world on fire.

We can't go on, by rote and formula. That's why not merely in the South, but in all the nation, we suffer from this guilty conscience. And we will not remove it by pointing to what's wrong with our critics, or by shouting social equality. The start must be made with our own inequities in simple, human decency and justice.



RALPH McGILL

There Are 10 Million Mules and Horses, But--

I eat. Therefore, I am interested in farming. I support a family and pay taxes. Therefore, I am interested in the price-support laws which keep up the price of groceries in the cities as they maintain the farm income. I have a nostalgic yearning to live out of the city and commute and would do so if I could swing it. I was born on a farm and have done farm work. So there is in me a genuine feeling for farm people and the land itself as there is within me an emotionally unpractical as well as a practical approach to "the farm."

It is a historical fact that if we debase the farm economy merely to create cheap food prices for the wage earners, within at least two years the entire economy will crash. Therefore, we keep a price "formula."

We are concerned with mechanization. The assembly line dominates our lives. Its technique is to be found not merely in factories making automobiles, refrigerators, aircraft, stoves and pots and pans, but in banks, department stores, dime stores, newspapers and schools.

It also is to be found, increasingly, on the farms. Mechanization is reaching out more and more to the farms and industry, looking for markets; is trying to create machines to do yet more of the farm operations now done by hand or horsepower.

Events Great things are happening. Chemical weed-killed researchers are working with soil chemists. Machinery designers are trying to build machines which will produce machines suited to the soil and the crops. Plant breeders already are saying that if plants remain which cannot be fitted to machines, the future will demand breeding new plants which will. Millions are being spent by the chemical, oil, rubber and machinery industries, seeking new fibers, new techniques for every phase of agriculture.

Mechanization With so much talk about mechanization, the casual reader might assume most of agriculture already is supplied with machines.

It would be easy to soothe him with statistics.

Farmers still own some 10,000,000 mules and horses. Sixty percent of all farm work is done by hand. Many farm methods would not seem unfamiliar to the Indians who domesticated wild vegetables in their crude fields.

But the tractor is a basic element and the tractor is often the only piece of mechanization on a farm. But it does the work of about six mules and it fits into other uses. No farmer with a mule can compete on equal terms with a farmer possessing a tractor. The 60 percent already feel the pinch of the more efficient mechanized 40 percent.

Tractor-powered implements are amazing in their diversity and numbers. There are as many as 350 different pieces of equipment one tractor can use. More are coming.

Machines Mechanization is highest in feed and food grains. Wheat, rice, rye, buckwheat, corn, oats, barley and sorghum grains are, along with hay, almost completely mechanized.

Cotton is coming steadily, if slowly, into mechanization, but the flame weeders, cultivators and pickers are as yet on only the large plantations. The cost is high. The myriad small cotton farms which are dying of mule and hand labor cause the percentage of complete mechanization to be low. But it is coming. The present cotton disaster will hasten it.

There will be thousands of small cotton farmers in the South who will go broke this Fall. The yield was half and less of what it was a year ago. For many farmers, the season was a total loss. There will be more who will give up and go to town. Still others, with the necessary capital, will change to grass and livestock. Many will move to town and seek "relief."

Pattern The pattern of mechanization is uneven. Dairy farms have electrical milkers. Cattle farms don't require much, save in the use of combines, drills and haybalers. which they have. It will always be necessary to use day-to-day judgment and inspections in dairying and this means hand labor. The same is true of fruit farmers where always the eye and human inspections must be used. But even here, electronics are at work.

Of all the basic crops, tobacco baffles the machine and remains appallingly inefficient and hard on the back and hands.

But machinery keeps doing more and more jobs. The tractor is basic. The combine is next. But hundreds more press for use.

It is almost true today there is no more "country." The machine has conquered. Its weight is felt in every aspect of life—the school, production, consumption and "welfare."

Much of our society fails to see this. Many of our best minds have not quite taken it in. The top Russians have. Many of the more astute labor politicians long have known it. Some city politicians see it.

But society in general lags behind the machine and the meaning of it, feeling the pressure of it in taxes, in loads on schools and welfare agencies. but not moving to meet the cause.



RALPH McGILL

In the Best Southern Tradition

Not in a long time have the wires brought a more heartening story, nor one in the best traditions of the real South, including the Old South, than that of Jefferson Military College.

The college turned down $50,000,000.

By taking it, the college, which in reality is a struggling preparatory school held together by faith and the strength of the genuine traditions, could have become a rich and substantial institution, with modern buildings, permanent security, and wealth to spend.

In reality it was the Old South which made the decision. The school was offered the money with certain strings. They were those which the school thought it could accept. One, the first one, was the joker, although this was not at once apparent. It called for a revision of the charter so that the donor of the money could control the board of trustees. The second was that the school be "primarily" for white Christians with any person of Asiatic or African descent barred.

Custom This the school was doing anyhow. And this it intended to keep on doing if it could remain alive.

But, the joker unintentionally was revealed. The real intent of the new board was to teach various racial superiorities and would also be anti-Semitic.

That did it. Men who loved the school, and who had been struggling to keep it alive, turned down the $50,000,000, saying, "There are some things money can't buy. We can still close down the school and keep our honor."

Decision This decision was by Mississippians. It probably was by men who supported the Dixiecrat Party, which does attract many men of principle, in marked contrast to some of the leadership, especially the unofficial part of it.

They were men of the old school, so to speak. They support the real Southern tradition, which is a tradition of honor, gallantry and integrity. They surely support the usual moves of their State and region.

But, they would not be bought. That, too, is a tradition of the Old South. Their honor was not for sale. This will seem strange indeed to many of the professional Southerners of today.

They would not be bought to teach hate or the ideas of a bitter old man.

effort to insist the South do simply what is decent and honorable toward the Negro citizen is met with charges of violating Southern traditions, of approving "mongrelization" and "social equality."

This same element will attack the trustees at Jefferson College. They simply cannot understand it.

They will be able to take it.

Since 1802 The school has struggled along since 1802. It had accumulated honor and affection. Then came the tempter who wanted to buy the honor and the affection in order to have a sounding board from which to teach a doctrine which is, in effect, un-American and un-Christian.

The trustees, who believe in the Old South traditions, and who are, in some respects, in accord with the donor, turned it down. They said, and this should be repeated often, that there are some things which are not for sale.

This will be a strange phrase to the Ku Klux mentality and to the scurvy yappers about "traditions," which to them mean hate and violence.

No more heartening thing has occurred in years than this Southern story.

The South is growing, moving forward and joining the great stream of history, slowly leaving behind the unworthy "traditions," but keeping always what is best out of our past. The Mississippians have said one of these things is "honor."

They have done the South and all of us in it honor and a great service.

Trouble The great trouble about the talk of Southern traditions today is that so much of it is done by white trash and the Ku Klux Klan mentality. The men in Mississippi who turned down this rich fund of millions will be condemned by the white trash and their ideas of Southern "traditions," which are not, and never were, the real basic tradition of the South, or its leaders.

Leaders These men in Mississippi have revealed the sort of honor which Robert E. Lee possessed. He was against slavery. He opposed secession. He thought both wrong. He hated the idea of the War Between the States.

But, when he was offered the command of all the Northern armies he refused it, making it plain that while he opposed slavery and secession and hoped his State would remain out of the war, he would follow it in whatever it did.

This was something like the integrity of "Little Alec" Stephens, who fought secession in Georgia, and who predicted that if the South went to war it would bring down ruin upon the South which would endure for generations. He was right. It did. And has.

Today Today, the white trash attitude of Southern "traditions" is that any Southerner, who loves his region well enough to oppose what he deems wrong in the region's ways, is a traitor.

PEGLER

Truman Blames the Little Men Who Aren't There

By Westbrook Pegler

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PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S attack on the punching-dummy which he labelled "the troublemakers" would be comic if he were a Mayor of Chicago in a squalid fuss with the City Council. But, coming from the President of the United States at the start of a four-year term, this poor attempt to blame some imaginary force for the defeat which he suffered at the hands of his own party's 81st Congress is pathetic and ominous.



The people of the United States are stuck with this alumnus of the political underworld of Kansas City and must take full responsibility for all he does and pay the penalty for his deliberate misconduct and earnest failures.

Ordinarily the partisan opposition would delight in the rout of the President in office, but few Americans can close their minds to the fact that this man's errors might be calamities weighing on us all.

Mr. Truman has tried to represent his licking by his own Congress as no thing at all but a serene working of the American system, and to blame "the troublemakers" for spreading the popular impression that he did get licked.

Well, he was licked, and not merely outpointed but knocked through the skylight in a fight of his own picking at the instigation of a strange, menacing gang of mock-Democrats who penetrated the disorganized convention in Philadelphia and put over a monstrosity called the civil rights program.

Truman himself had no idea that any such mischief would be handed to the nominee whoever that nominee might be, as a part of the Democratic platform.

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HE WAS as much surprised as anyone else when he got the nomination in the end, and meanwhile a diluted civil rights fake had been rejected by the strange intruder who insisted on a tougher and nastier one, and got it.

This was put over by Hubert H. Humphrey of Minneapolis, a former Mayor and leaky-roof professor, whose fortune seizure of power was a dramatic demonstration of the confusion and weakness of the convention.

Minneapolis has no Negro problem, having few Negroes and those few Negroes persons of superior quality by comparison with the masses in the parts of Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi which Humphrey and his group determined to injure. Consequently, Minneapolis, in Minnesota, Negroes, are not a dominant political as the Deep South Negroes would be.

Neither is there an important problem of discrimination in employment in Minneapolis or Minnesota, although surely Humphrey understood that an anti-discrimination law imposed on the South would be a death warrant for many innocent persons. Aside from all the fatal constitutional faults in this proposal, it could result in nothing but insurrection and bloodshed.

Those who argue that if such were the law it must be and would be enforced forget that prohibition was the highest law of the land and never could be enforced and finally was abandoned.

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A MORE recent case in point is the Taft-Hartley law, which Truman, himself, flouted and derided with open intent that his political adherents should feel at liberty to violate it without peril.

So they did and the law now is in many respects a dead letter not because it suffers any such evil flaws as the anti-discrimination proposal, but because the President of the United States, in his ignorance, invited his gang to ignore it.

Truman had never shown any interest in any of the proposals lumped together as "civil rights" during his schooling years in the Pendergast criminal machine in Kansas City. This mob stole elections by stuffing the ballot boxes through several standard methods, all of them felonious.

It does not appear that any person was denied his right to vote and his right that his vote should be counted in determining the result because of that person's race or religion. But thousands were thus offended for the reason that they detested the vicious pack of fivekeepers and common gunmen who were Harry Truman's henchmen.

And, down to the very end, Mr. Truman fought to keep his corrupt idol and chief out of prison for his crimes against the civil rights of the community.

Actually, Truman's ignorance of the importance and function of Congress was demonstrated in frightening fashion soon after the Democratic convention last summer.

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ABANDONED and held in contempt by all the bosses of his own party, but finally nominated nevertheless, the forlorn little urchin came out of the hall with one great idea. He would attack Congress and blame Congress for the lack of housing in a nation which, in all of Roosevelt's eight years of peacetime presidency, had not even repaired the current dilapidation of the standing houses, much less caught up on the lag in new building.

But for the building booms of the Harding, Coolidge and Hoover Administrations the people would have been living in tin-towns and tents by the time our own entry into the war gave Roosevelt an excuse not to make good the deficit.

Truman called the 80th Congress into special session for no other purpose than to discredit the legislative arm of the Government. He picked a fight not only with the 80th Congress which the Republicans controlled by choice of the voters, but Congress itself, as an institution.

At the special session he delivered a stilted, painfully dishonest speech over the heads of the Congress of the United States to his partisan adherency and the feeling against him was so bitter that he entered the chamber in almost dead silence and left it in shame. Only three hands reached out to shake his hand as he walked up the aisle and out.

So the defeat of the Truman social and civil affectations by the 81st session of the Congress of the United States, was a licking for Harry S. Truman.

He picked the fight and forgot to duck and got his brains knocked out and it was no dirty doing of any columnists or commentators but a proper come-uppance for an impudent incompetent who has twice admitted publicly since the first of the year that there probably are a million men in the United States who could do his job better.



WESTBROOK PEGLER

Challenge to Negro Leaders

NEW YORK—Julius Adams, a Negro journalist who traveled with Gov. Tom Dewey on both of his presidential campaign trips and, I believe, has remained a Republican against the blankets and glass beads held forth by the Democratic and Communist exploiters, has just published a very strong discussion of the plight of his people. His frank recognition of the fact that the Negro people are responsible to an important degree for their own civic and economic laggardness is not really pioneer thinking among Negroes. A few others have noted the factors of indolence, frivolity and irresponsibility and have been whipped for it by demagogues of their own color.

But Mr. Adams, one of the half dozen colored men whom I have ever known without a mutual feeling of racial consciousness and affectation, really devotes his whole book to the failure of Negro leadership and to the personal selfishness of Negro leaders, which he holds largely responsible for the failure.

His book is called "The Challenge." It has been published by Wendell, Mallet, of New York. I recommend it as a courageous and honest analysis by a man who once advanced my own education by a simple question and a straight, simple answer. We were dragging across some Western pairie in the 1944 Dewey campaign train talking inevitably of the unkindness and unfairness of my race toward his—and vice versa—when Julius Adams said: "Do you know why I would like to go into a white restaurant and be waited on? Because I get hungry. I get hungry and if I am downtown I can't go all the way to Harlem for a sandwich and a cup of coffee. It isn't because I want a white man or a white girl to wait on me. I don't hire the waiters."

"The Negro masses recognize that there is no dearth of persons ambitious to lead," he writes in "The Challenge." "They find, however, a serious insufficiency of the right kind of leadership. They question the direction the present leadership is taking. Negroes have a surplus of leaders of a sort—in every field. Herein lies much of their trouble. Asked why the Negro suffers as he does, any individual picked at random from any walk of life will reply unhesitatingly: 'Our leaders are no good.'

"Primarily, all leadership is selfish, but selfishness may be immediate and very personal and limited or long-ranged and broad, wherein an individual seeks to gain power and prestige in order to render greater service to his people and his country. Negro leadership, for the most part, has been selfish to the extreme. This is understandable, though not to be condoned, because the Negro has been poor—so poor that when he found himself in a position of prominence where he could acquire some 'wealth,' he, too often, has been willing to sell out everybody, purchasing security for himself at the expense of his race.

"In the past 83 years, the Negro has made considerable progress but much of it has been the result of changes in the world and of the Negro's association with the white man rather than a direct consequence of his own effort. Certainly no group could live alongside so aggressive a group as the American white man without absorbing much of his culture and initiative. Often Negro leadership was but the tool of other groups. Negro leaders have not fought strenuously enough for the privilege of consulting other leaders on policies affecting all citizens so that policies thus established would provide equality for all, the Negro included.

"American industrialists have only a faint idea of how much productive energy remains unharnessed by their refusal to employ Negroes."

I observe that we still disagree, as of old, on certain points.

Mr. Adams holds that we white men viciously stereotype Negroes. He then says the white man is stereotyped as a "master class" and the Negro is portrayed as an inferior, "nearly always as a menial or a moron; rarely as a human being of mature stature."

He is wrong on most counts and where he is right he is right for wrong reasons. The Negro stereotype is not "vicious" at all but is based on realities. The white man is a "master" only to the extent that Adams admits in the very essence of his complaint. For this is a complaint against the inferior condition of Negroes by a man who blames venal Negro leaders for the failure to march further, faster. That being so, the white man obviously is a "master class," not because he has wanted to lord it over Negroes or any other race but because he admittedly did have the drive, intelligence and wisdom to create most of the civilization, mechanical and other, which the Negro enjoys.

The white man made his own breaks. What other race has been or would be as generous to strangers? If the white man made a slave of the Negro it was the white man with a very superior morality and conscience who slaughtered his own kind to right that wrong and free the slaves. Incidentally, Rudyard Kipling, in a forgotten but, as of today, shockingly wise observation, remarked that the Anglo-Saxon decline in the United States began when the best manhood of the breed killed itself off in that war. And, of course, Negroes have practiced slavery but never fought a comparable war against it.

The Negro is not and never was depicted as a "moron." Actually, the shuffling, ignorant comic Negro was endowed with a shrewdness a little above his actual deserving. Bert Williams was a great example. But the menial status was true to life and that status is exactly what Mr. Adams complains of.

Moreover, as I have noted before, there are no Negro villains in our literature today. Only white men, and women, are lustful and otherwise wicked, and those villains invariably must be vaguely ambiguous or unmistakably Anglo-Saxon. That is clearly out of proportion to the facts and an injustice to the Anglo-Saxon which is never deplored by any warrior against genocidal propaganda.

PEGLER

Claims CIO's Record Worse Than Ku Klux Klan

The Examiner
By Westbrook Pegler
(Copyright, 1949, King Features Syndicate, Inc.)

IN FRIDAY'S essay, I was laying down the facts about Mr. Truman's anti-lynching proposal and the trivial record of the modern Ku Klux Klan as a terroristic force as compared with the record of the CIO.

To resume the lesson:



WESTBROOK PEGLER

Inasmuch as lynching is defined as **"punishment"** inflicted without due process of law and inasmuch as the victims of the great CIO terror in many communities were not accused of any violation of law, these CIO crimes may be something even worse than lynchings. There is a presumption that the victim of a genuine lynching by a mob is at least suspected of some crime and that there is some evidence against him. As a matter of fact, he usually is guilty, but the propaganda against Southern lynchings was so wild and the people are so nearly incapable of thought when their emotions are stirring that most of our citizens think of the lynchee as an innocent victim of race prejudice.

If you won't admit that, you certainly have to admit that he invariably is suspected and accused and would be tried according to law if he were not lynched beforehand. And you have to admit that there is absolutely no suspicion or charge of an offense against law in the case of a young woman who is quietly sitting at her place in a factory, earning her living, when the goons of the CIO crash in and pummel and beat her.

I recall no instance in the career of the modern Ku Klux Klan in which any woman was physically abused. But the goons of the CIO are no more hesitant to slug a woman than a man.

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IN VIEW of the fact that the victims of the lynching mobs of the CIO do not stand accused of any offense against law, these beatings and stonings are something worse than lynching.

As far as I know, we have no word for mob action against unaccused persons. It is worse than lynching, but we haven't given it a name.

Now I have pointed out that although these goons go barefaced about their terror they are masked nevertheless by anonymity because they are imported from other cities to do their criminal work and probably never will be seen again by their victims.

So the masking of the Klansmen, which has been so loftily denounced as cowardice, is no worse than the masking that is practiced by the goons of Philip Murray's invisible empire.

There has been much testimony proving that the CIO goons do filter into town as Hitler's **"tourists"** sifted into Norway for the putsch. But, to support my charge, I refer you to the record of the most recent case in the congressional reports.

This is the case of the goon terror at the Shakespeare factory in Kalamazoo last December 1.

The report said:

"The list of 27 cars (exhibit H) is but a part of the motor cavalcade which invaded Kalamazoo. The press and police estimated that there were between 30 and 40 automobiles carrying between 200 and 300 men. Sworn testimony established the fact that the occupants swarmed into the plant parking lot and in front of the main entrance and then invaded the plant.

"They broke windows, overturned and damaged cars and burned one truck. They shamefully beat innocent, unoffending women and men in the plant and on the street and at least one employee while he was in his car on the highway."

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THE police and the sheriff's force had flinched, wilted and surrendered according to the precedent of the Hon. Frank Murphy, now a Justice of the Supreme Court, when he was Governor of Michigan during the CIO lynchings of 1937.

So you will see that the CIO mobs have enjoyed the connivance and passive cooperation of the law-enforcement arm in hundreds of northern cities even as the Southern mobs which, on rare occasions, have acted in hot blood rather than by formal direction from a high command.

The CIO lynchings, to use an inadequate name for these crimes, are executed with a discipline and skill which should give law-abiding communities seriously to think of organizing and drilling defensive corps of vigilantes like the old sheriff's posses of the West.

These posses were legal organizations and they still exist in skeleton or nostalgic form in some western areas.

"The testimony was to the effect that the goons acted with military precision," said the report of Congressman Clare Hoffman of Michigan, who ran the inquiry for the House committee on education and labor. "They were well dressed and the majority of them were strong men. About one-third of the number were Negroes.

"On each occasion, when a beating took place, the goons acted together, three or more taking part in the slapping of the women.

"At least five participated in the beating of one of the shop workers. The cowardliness, the viciousness of some in this squad is shown by the unprovoked slapping of a girl sitting at her work bench."

UNDER President Truman's **"anti-lynching"** proposal, any Southern community which suffered any person to be **"lynched,"** under a definition which makes a lynching of a slap in the face or kick in the pants, could be punished in the Federal court for failure to protect that person.

Again remembering that such a person invariably is accused of some crime, usually some unspeakable crime against a woman, we return to the stipulation in the same proposal that Mr. Truman's political allies, the goons of the CIO, shall be free to lynch as usual.

The city of Kalamazoo could not be prosecuted for failure to protect law-abiding women and men because lynching, and worse crimes, committed by goons, are specifically excepted.



WESTBROOK PEGLER

vate terroristic societies known as labor unions would be exempt practices whereas the same conduct on the part of groups lacking the special lynching-license of a union charter would be criminal. This is a specific, pointed exemption which proves that these hypocrites do not abhor lynching, as such, but indorse it, as such. They abhor only unlicensed or nonunion lynchings.

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PEGLER

Unioneers Abhor Only Nonunion Lynchings

By Westbrook Pegler
(Copyright, 1949, King Features Syndicate, Inc.)

IN ANY discussion of the facts of lynching and organized terror it is best not to ignore President Truman and the professional unioneers because he and they are actually defenders of lynching and organized terror as political weapons of the party in power. The unioneers not only defend these atrocities but regard them and practice them as just prerogatives of their lawless movement. Truman so regards them, too, as Roosevelt did before him.



For proof of this attitude toward lynching and the intimidation of the people, consult the anti-lynching bills and observe that lynching done by pri-

dustrial Organizations never have worn actual masks on their lynching forays against women employees of Northern factories, it is also a fact that they have shielded themselves with anonymity no less impenetrable than the Klansman's hood. These professional rioters draw their shock-troops from unknown parts, bring them into the town to be attacked in small, inconspicuous groups and whisk them away when they have completed their lynching.

There may be a misunderstanding of the word "lynch." Some persons may think it means only the killing of a person by a mob without due process. That is not the case at all and the anti-lynching proposals do not insist that one or more victims shall have died ere the penalties which they advocate might be imposed. The law and the dictionaries agree that lynching is the infliction of "punishment" for offenses without due process of law.

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THERE is an assumption that the victim of a lynching is actually guilty of the offense for which he is put to death by the mob because "punishment" in that sense of the word presupposes guilt. However, such "punishment" may stop short of death. The mob may be content to beat a man unconscious; to break his leg or skull with a tire-iron or bat, or to slap and pummel, knock down and kick women victims. In fact, these are the more common practices of CIO goons who slink into unsuspecting communities at the call of local union terrorists, masked by their anonymity, and then fade away.

The modern Ku Klux Klan of the '20s killed far fewer victims than the CIO mobs have killed since 1937. Its raids and demonstrations were childish mischief by comparison with the Hitlerian terror that was spread by the CIO in Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Illinois and California. Grv-3-18-49

Yet we still hear exaggerated stories of the terror of the Klan in those days, spread by writers, politicians and nondescripts who know that the CIO was incomparably more powerful and brutal and did not hesitate to use Communist enemies of the United States in this criminal service.

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HIRAM WESLEY EVANS never had a hundredth of the power that John L. Lewis has wielded both as president of the CIO and president of the United Mine Workers. He never had a hundredth of the power that passed from Lewis to the pious, eye-rolling Murray, when Lewis quit the CIO and Murray took his place. The Klan never inflicted an appreciable fraction of the material damage, and the damage wrought to the precious institution of Government and order was trifling by comparison, too.

The Klan never had the open indorsement of the national Administration, whereas the CIO has actually been the political protege and subsidiary of the Democratic Party and the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations. In fact, it was Sidney Hillman, an evil, alien political genius of the CIO, who gave the nod to Senator Harry S. Truman for the vice presidential nomination in 1944 and thus, in a very true manner of speaking, put him where he is today.

No, as a lynching and terroristic organization the modern Klan was a pygmy to the CIO.

I FIND that I am so crowded with this subject that I will be unable to put it all into the compass of today's pastoral. Therefore, I will take another bite of the tomato Monday. Meanwhile, to students in the propaganda course called "Social Science" I would suggest that they take this to class and challenge any instructor to refute any part of it. Grv-3-18-49

To all others who have the time and interest, I would suggest a little research in the newspaper files of 1936 and 1937, preferably the files of the larger, metropolitan papers which were able to give more space to the lynchings that were the only means by which the CIO could capture its original nucleus of faceless men.

PEGLER

Charges CIO to Use Terror Tactics in South

Los Angeles Times 3-23-49

By Westbrook Pegler

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THE Congress of Industrial Organizations has begun a campaign to "organize" workers in the Southern states. The first great "organizing campaign" of the CIO in 1937 developed into wild anarchy and unmanned the governments of Michigan and Ohio and many communities in these and other states. Lynching and vandalism prevailed, Governors cowered in their chambers and cops and sheriffs looked away.



WESTBROOK PEGLER

The anti-lynching proposal which President Truman is pressing on a stubborn Congress of his own party would, by plain inference, invite the CIO to use similar methods in the South.

Lynchings done by unions would be privileged outrages. A southern community which failed to protect a prisoner charged with rape and suffered him to be hanged by a mob could be made to pay a financial penalty to the victim's family, or, if the victim were merely injured, he might get damages himself from the community.

But if an innocent person, charged with no legal offense, were beaten to death with an iron bar by an imported goon of the CIO, that would not be a "lynching" within the meaning of President Truman's law.

The murderer would be subject to the usual process in the local courts if the local authorities could catch him. But inasmuch as the goons are imported secretly to places where riots are planned, and whisked away while the smoke of anarchy still hangs in the air, there would be little chance of his being caught.

Certainly the Department of Justice would not exert itself to capture one of the boss' own goons and return him to a southern state for trial.

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THOUSANDS of law-abiding citizens might be slugged; driven from their work and terrorized at night by methods certainly no better than the fabulous antics of the modern Ku Klux Klan.

But still the law against "lynching" would not apply nor the law forbidding masked men to frequent the highways at night. The anonymity of strange goons called

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A Southerner TALKING

by LILLIAN Smith



Chicago Defender

SPRING on my mountain top is a thing to see. It has come like the tide. Down on the edge of fields in the valley below my window the color begins: a thin pink-yellow-green line that climbs day by day from field to cove, to ridge, from boulder to boulder, tree top to tree top, until suddenly the whole mountain is soft with unfolding leaves.

Last night, I heard the first whippoorwill. And at daybreak, the pilliated woodpecker screamed like a sea gull across the ridge from my window. If you have never seen this Lord God of the bird kingdom you have missed a very special experience. There is something so arrogant, so defiant in his scream, so wild. In spite of yourself, a thing deep within you answers him and a spiritual duel is fought. He disdains the lowly earth and flies from tree top to tree top, a beautiful blur of black and white splotched with red. I suppose we really shouldn't approve of him. He undoubtedly does not believe in the brotherhood of man. And yet the scream is exciting; and always, when one hears, one gets up and goes out to watch him as we used to do when we heard the roar of a plane in the sky. Sat-4-30-49

I have just come home from the city. And the country is pulling hard at me this morning. I went down in the rain last evening, just before dark and cut asparagus in my garden and picked a mess of turnip greens—the kind you taste only in your memory in the city. A rabbit scampered out of the radish bed and another froze stiff on the edge of the path as I passed by with my basket of greens. No doubt they consider me a thief invading their territory. As I came back up the hill, through the dim winding path, a wood thrush began to sing. I stood there, listening, remembering all the springs I have spent here, beyond me the old mountains that are changeless, below me, the ever-changing valley, back of me, years of pain and joy and bright moments that unrolled swiftly in that moment as I listened.

All night the wind blew hard against the mountain roaring high above the roof of my little rock house. It sounds like a great storm coming, though it travels the sky line and one never knows whether to call it a storm or not, as it never touches the earth.

Yesterday, I looked at the South from my Pullman window. When I awoke we were in North Carolina. All day the train wound through that state and South Carolina and curved back into north Georgia. In North Carolina, at breakfast time, I saw the first of those signs. Yes, first in the diner, when I walked in and faced the glass partition. And then as I drank my coffee, I looked out and saw another big sign over a doorway. It slapped this Southerner's mind hard, like an angry hand across the face. Once, I took those signs for granted. They were over doors when I was born and I accepted them without thinking, as I accepted heat and mosquitoes and sandspurs. Then one day, my imagination awoke. It was as if it had been asleep a long time. It woke up, and I felt those signs. If only all white Southerners could feel the meaning of them. Never again could they live comfortably with them.

As the train moved down the Southern railway, through textile milltowns and back into fields, around hills, across rivers, the South flowed over me again. The down-at-the-heel look of things . . . the unhappy empty faces . . . the slow-moving walk of its people . . . their flat talk . . . the awful mill villages, the crooked little shanties tilted over as if a heavy wind had whiffed by . . . the dull rows of tight boxes that people live in close to the tracks. Poverty is not worse than it is in northern cities, it is only more naked. You cannot miss it, for there are no skyscrapers blocking it off from view and no noise to keep the mind from feeling. Sat-4-30-49

The sun was warm and soft, fields greening, trees leafing, flowers blooming . . . the clay was so red and beautiful, the earth everywhere something you love to belong to. But the people spoiled my home-coming. Their faces, so hard, so angry, so lost and empty, blocked out the spring from my eyes. I could think only of our self-destruction, of how we have chained ourselves to a servitude that we do not name but which eats up like cancer all that is sweet and good and gentle and gay in our natures. As I think about it now, even the beauty of my mountain is forgotten and I sit here, sad and troubled. It is all such a pity, such a tragic and terrible waste of human happiness.

A Southerner TALKING

by LILLIAN Smith



Chicago Defender

BEING a Georgian, I have greatly enjoyed Jackie Robinson's visit to Atlanta. Chicago Defender

One hears that the Klan sat back and chewed on its nails. Actually, most of them went to the games, without their sheets and pillow cases, and had a big time. You couldn't keep them away from a good ball game. And secretly, most of them came away thinking Robinson a good guy. 2-18

No matter what they say in public, those games changed their minds a little. They don't really hate Negroes—not more than 15 percent of them do. They join the Klan because "the others" on their streets and in their social group join it. They take a stand for segregation because they think it is the thing to do. Like owning a car—and if you've got the cash, a television set—it is a form of keeping up with the Joneses. At that game they saw Atlanta's best: its richest men and the socially prominent white people; all of them looking quite comfortable as they watched Jackie Robinson (colored) play. So maybe joining the Klan isn't keeping up with the Joneses, after all, they think. Maybe the klan members went home afterward and looked at their pillow cases and sheets and wondered a little what all the dressing-up is about. I hope so.

Because of a long-drawn-out illness that has kept me close to my chair and bed all winter and spring, I could not attend the Chicago annual meeting of the Americans for Democratic Action. But I like what I have read of its proceedings.

The ADA and the AVC are two organizations that I have worked with since they were babies. I am proud of them. Both have made minor mistakes, and one or two big blunders but they have grown in the right direction. And both are organizations that are led by the most mature thinkers in this country.

There is integrity in the Americans for Democratic Action and plenty of energy. There is not much bluster or much violence of speech, or much expression of hate. Sometimes people, used to splashy headline talk, mistake its quiet thoughtful approach to national and international problems as an indication of lack of courage. They forget that it is the bully, not the brave man, who blusters. Sat-4-23-49

A few weeks ago, I wrote a letter for the ADA asking for money to carry on our fight in Congress for civil rights. We received some money but I received a barrage of angry letters from members of the Progressive Party telling me in words of one syllable that I was a "dupe," a "fool," and so on to believe that Hubert Humphrey and the ADA would really fight for civil rights. One letter from New Jersey accused me of "lack of courage." I smiled when I read it. How I would like to see that letter-writer (who paints such a brave portrait of himself) down on the front in Georgia! We need him there—maybe; or maybe we don't.

Many Negroes have been suspicious of the ADA. They, too, have suspected its leadership of compromise on civil rights. With Hubert Humphrey as its chairman, I do not believe they have any grounds for their fear. Humphrey is young, energetic, not always profound in his thinking, but honest; honest and human, and genuinely in love with freedom for all men. He has made civil rights his personal fight. It is his "baby" in Congress, he will fight for it with all he has in him. And Hubert has plenty: adrenalin, wit, intelligence, a talent for shrewdly out-guessing his opponents. And plenty of laughter, too, and that is good.

The ADA needs the support of thoughtful Negroes, those who are mature, who have a well developed sense of smell for totalitarianism however completely it hides itself in the bushes; and who are deeply in love with democracy, not only for themselves, but for everybody. These are the people who can change the world without destroying it. And there is plenty of need for them, just now. Sat-4-23-49

A Southerner TALKING
by LILLIAN Smith

A FEW evenings ago, a group of citizens from the state of Oklahoma, escorted by Dr. C. B. Loomis—known in the South for the fine job he did with community projects in Columbia, S. C.—Pulled up our mountain in a big, chartered bus (which looked bigger as it reeled up my mountain road) to talk over what was happening in race relations in the South. They were men and women from scattered colleges and high schools, principals, heads of departments in universities who are making a trip through the southeastern states to see the good constructive things that are being done in Dixie. They know plenty about the bad, they are tackling the bad in their own state—perhaps too cautiously—but they are seeking, I think, that encouragement which comes from seeing that others have "done it," in spite of the obstacles.

Many of them were State Righters, most felt they were "liberal," all were tolerant and openminded, and sincere in their desire for change to come. Some were ready for it to come now; others kept saying, "but it will take time, it can't be done overnight." In other words, they were a sampling of the average best that we have in the South.

What I liked most about them, was a willingness to listen to words different from what they—or some of them—believed. That is a new kind of tolerance in the South and while it still is not much of a patch along the mental landscape, it is **here** and growing. They listened when I talked of the evil that segregation does to the white man as well as the Negro; they listened when I said I could not see how, unless we were totalitarian, we could put state rights ahead of human rights. They talked quietly, thoughtfully, about the whole situation and I felt more hopeful when they left, for they are from Oklahoma, where things have been sizzling in the educational field and yet in spite of it, they were rational, their minds cool, they were willing to think, to plan, to "adjust."

I think sometimes we need to hold on tightly to every good, hopeful sign of recovery in this field of race relations. There is no one more willing to point out evil than am I, nor more willing to criticize South or North when there is need to do so. On the other hand, we who work with human beings know that while criticism is necessary, so is praise. So is encouragement. So is hope. And we can destroy our chances of recovery, we can actually delay the coming of the good, by too much criticism and too little praise.

I am speaking now as one who has worked for many years with children and who learned long ago that a child can profit from insight but she grows more from praise and encouragement.

Things are better in the South. They are not good enough. They are changing too slowly, but minds and habits are changing. Listen at this from the Atlanta **Journal** of last week: "However, it must be admitted that the woes and backwardness of the state of Georgia have not been caused by the communists or fellow travelers. They are a very insignificant group so far . . . Progress in Georgia has been impeded by the Klan-minded individuals. Not the actual members, those who wear the nightshirts, but the 'fellow travelers' of the Klan. I mean men and women, even of prominence and good repute, who apparently are not a bit disturbed when a Negro is lynched; those people who are entirely satisfied with the status quo along all lines . . . What gives our state a black name are such things as the Walton county Negro massacre" (and then he goes on and mentions all the recent outrages) . . . "It is such episodes as those which give Commies over here and especially in Russia the ammunition they use most effectively . . ."

How is that for a Georgia newspaper (white) and for one of Georgia's most popular columnists? His name is Morgan Blake. It might make him feel good, too, to be told that his column was appreciated. After all, it is not easy to write such things in Georgia; not yet.

A Southerner TALKING
by LILLIAN Smith

LET us pick up two Georgia names that are now in the news and look at them.

Keep turning them slowly for there is much to see there: Ben Davis, legislative chairman of the Communist Party, Samuel Green, Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan. Two Georgians, U. S. A.

Keep turning them until Ben Davis, Communist, is face to face with Samuel Green, Klansman. Now they are looking straight into each other's eyes.

Ben Davis: Negro, one of 13 million displaced persons in American democracy, born segregated, childhood segregated, adolescence segregated. Segregated at birth from human dignity, from "belonging," from civil rights, from citizenship, from jobs, from freedom to grow; learning when he took his first step that there were lines, crisscrossing and crazy, but lines which he must never step over and all of them had to do with color. Ben Davis, the man who lived in a box because he is black. (I wonder if the FBI has all this information.)

Samuel Green: white, one of 20 million Southern White Supremacists, born segregated, childhood segregated, adolescence segregated; segregated from human dignity, from freedom to grow, from belief in men's right to be human, learning with his first step that there were lines, crisscrossing and crazy, but lines which he must never step over and all of them had to do with color. Samuel Green, the man who lived in a box because he is white.

As you turn these names face to face, you wonder if the men themselves have ever looked at each other. You wonder if they have seen what we see. Here they are: each man a prisoner; each twisted and shaped by the twisting crooked box he was forced to live in from birth, forced by custom, tradition and statutes. But there is a difference, a big and terrible difference. For the white man, stunted and twisted, made arrogant and anxious, guilty and fearful by crisscrossing crazy lines, by a segregation that made him White Man and deprived him from growing into a mature being, was given Power and Authority. His freedom to grow into a mature, responsible person was taken away from him in childhood but his freedom to do harm, to injure other human beings was safeguarded and is his today.

Now they face each other: Ben Davis, official of the Communist Party, sick of Georgia, U. S. A., turning to Georgia, U. S. S. R., escaping one iron box named White Supremacy by crawling into another iron box named Communism, fleeing one authority only to embrace another; willing to accept a slavery of the mind to escape a slavery of the skin; wanting freedom from shame so much that he is willing to give up the freedom to be human **which, remember, he has never had.** And opposite him is Samuel Green, highest official of the KKK, self-appointed guardian of the Iron Box of White Supremacy, doing everything in his power to drive all men who are not white (and that means two-thirds of the earth's people) into the iron box of Communism; doing it in the name of a democracy which he does not understand and has never valued; blaspheming its processes by word and act as he and his whitehooded gang burn crosses on every spot in the South where human dignity grows green.

I do not admire either man. Both are confused, bitter men, made so by a philosophy that dehumanizes the spirit and dulls the mind of all who come under its shadow. Now, today, Ben Davis is being tried in the courts of our nation for the crime of conspiracy to overthrow the American government, while Samuel Green goes freely on in Georgia with his Ku Klux Klan conspiracies against the human spirit. Who among us would dare say Ben Davis is more guilty than Samuel Green as the enemy of democracy's welfare?

Trials. . . how strange and nightmarish they are! The Nurnberg trials. . . Ilse Koch . . . the Toombs County trial. . . the trial of the Communists now in New York City. All seem as out of focus, as askew, as crazy and batty as 'the trial' in the **Mad woman of Chaillot.** What is the meaning of a 'trial'? Do we know? When is a man a traitor to his country and when is a country traitor to a man? If we believe in democracy, in the supremacy of the human spirit, in the dignity of man and his rights, whom should we be 'trying' today? Ben Davis or ourselves? A handful of Communists of Segregation in Dixie? Is it really that Communism is being 'tried' in New York or is it that democracy is being tried before the rest of the world?

As a white Georgian who cherishes the dream of man the human being, living freely in a world of other human beings

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White (Lillian Smith)

A Southerner TALKING

by LILLIAN Smith

31a White

AFTER two weeks of heavy fogs and drenching rains that remind me of India's monsoons, the Mountain is clear this morning. It is a calm place to be, full of peace, and flying birds, and katydids, and flowers. I find it hard to realize that in other parts of the South there is so much hate and fear.

Defender Sat. 8-6-49

When a county has two race killings within a few weeks of each other as had a Georgia county recently, there is need to look close at its religious and intellectual leadership. No preacher or newspaper editor took part in that physical violence but I cannot believe such would happen in a county where ministers and editors had done their job of keeping the dream of brotherhood and democracy before the people. Public opinion murdered those Negroes, not one man or two or three who committed the act through ignorance or fear or because of their inner frustrations. Chicago Ill.

We have failed miserably in selling democratic beliefs to our southern people. **Acceptance, dignity, mutual esteem, human rights, freedom and responsibility:** these are words the masses of our people do not know the meaning of because those who claim to be leaders have failed to teach this meaning to them.

Today, our country is heatedly flinging the words **loyalty and treason** back and forth, clashing men's lives with them. Loyalty to what? Treason against what? Men have only one inalienable obligation where these words are concerned and that is to be loyal to their own beliefs and never to betray their own cherished dream. Such words cannot apply to human relationships. One should love, not be "loyal" to other people; one has obligations to one's family, a real responsibility for their welfare. How does loyalty make sense? This the Chinese have understood so well. No one talks of "loyalty to one's family" in China; one talks of the responsibility one owes them. It is obligation that concerns this wise people who for many centuries have lifted their human relations to so high a level of excellence.

Strange . . . how men rise and fall by their words! After all, it is our words that make us human; it is the power to abstract feelings and experiences and put them into little guttural-nasal sounds that distinguishes us from the animals. It is more than all else our power to dream and become our own dream that brought man to his hind feet, gave him so terrible and beautiful a talent with his hands, and lifted his eyes until they touched the stars.

But the people on Tobacco Road, the people in the interior rural countries of the world have not known the dream in words. They have not felt this mutual esteem of people, one for another. They have been so poor, so isolated, so without those minimum necessities that keep men human, so without acceptance by the powerful people above them, that they have taken the drug of white supremacy when it was offered them, for they are starving; and they are taking the drug of communism when it is offered. Today, it is being offered in wondrous looking packages while we, who have the real food, the real beliefs that increase the stature of men, refuse them to the starving.

A Southerner TALKING

by LILLIAN Smith



31a White

The Defender Chicago Ill.

I had a dream last night and I would like to tell it to you. I dreamed that the signs came down. All through the South, overnight, the signs came down. From depot doors and toilet doors from county fair grounds and drinking fountains, they came down. Old paint slowly peeled off, fleck after fleck, and left doors clean. Big signs were lifted off by invisible hands. There the sign was, then suddenly hands that no one could see lifted it off.

The drinking fountains were harder but they came clean too as letters were rubbed off of concrete until nothing but a dim old smudge was left there. Sat. 5-28-49

The invisible signs were gone too. Buses, street cars, theaters were suddenly full of people. Not races but full of human beings. People got on the street car and quietly sat down wherever they could find a seat. Just did it. It was as if the whole world had forgot the word "color" except when it was used by artists and interior decorators. It had become overnight an irrelevance, something that made no sense when used about people. Suddenly everybody was just moving around, going places, attending to personal affairs that had to be tended to.

Nobody tried to marry anybody's sister on street car or bus. Not one tried to do it. Nobody pounded on strangers' homes and demanded intimate relations. Most of the crazy people seemed to be still in the mental hospitals or safely locked up at home. They must have been for, none of these things were happening. People just went about their own business, getting on a bus when they needed a bus, going to a movie to see the film, going into stores to buy things, going into a dining car just to eat their dinner. That was all. It was strange to see so much sanity everywhere. On the old Southern Railway that I travel back and forth from Georgia to Washington, the glass partitions were down and the cars seemed a little less crowded and cooler, that was all. Nobody had lost his appetite—yes, one lady from Atlanta did but they gave her some of this new medicine for morning sickness and she was soon all right. Everybody else ate their food, which is something of a feat after all if you've ever eaten on those diners that take us back and forth to Washington. People said, "My it would be nice if the food could be a little better on the railroads" but nobody said a word about having had to marry anybody.

It was all so relaxed and peaceful. Just as if a hurricane that had been going on for fifty, or eighty years had suddenly stopped blowing. It was over. Of course there were things to clean up, and things to be built that should have been done long before but no one had thought of doing these needed things while they were in the midst of a hurricane. People were saying all day, "My, we must clean up things, they're in a mess, aren't they!" We better get going on that children's clinic and a hospital here and we'd better tear down those old shacks out there in the country and build some decent houses for our rural people. And when we get things straightened out a little, for goodness sakes, let's have a little fun. It's been a long time since anybody has had a good time." Sat. 5-28-49

It was real peaceful, and a busy time for everybody. But there is a sad ending to this dream and I hate to add it. You see, not quite everybody took it so quietly. The old Dixiecrat politicians woke up too that morning, after the signs had come down and the people had forgot all about color and when they saw nobody was trying to marry somebody's sister, they just went raving crazy. I'm sorry to record it but they did. And the people, most regretfully and with great kindness had to take them to the mental hospital, and to make room, had to let out some of the nice folks in there who seemed all right now for the new world outside, and put in the poor sick Dixiecrats. Of course they gave them the usual treatment of cold sprays and warm baths and confining blankets. Then somebody said, "What they really need is the love they didn't have when they were little boys. Somebody ought to love them a little or they'll never get well."

But I don't know what happened then for I woke up and just lay there watching the sun climb over our old mountain, watching it shine brighter and brighter.